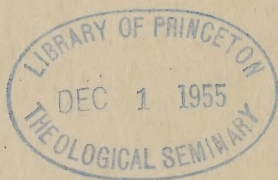


THE
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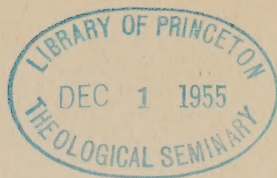
IMMANUEL LEWY



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The Growth of the Pentateuch



The Growth of the Pentateuch

A LITERARY, SOCIOLOGICAL
AND BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

BY

IMMANUEL LEWY

Introduction by ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

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Introduction

It is a pleasure for the present writer, who for more than thirty-five years has been interested in the origin of the Pentateuch, to commend to the reader the volume of a fellow worker in this arduous field of Biblical research. And this writer, filled as he is with admiration for the immense learning and uncommon originality of Dr. Immanuel Lewy, is particularly eager to have Biblical scholars make a careful, critical study of the conclusions reached by the author of this important book because they are so radically different from his own views.

While it was noticed long ago that Moses could hardly have written every word of the Pentateuch, the identification of the materials, or sources, or traditions—whether written or oral—collected by the final compiler of the Mosaic Torah, has proved to be a most baffling and bewildering task. Different results are reached in accordance with the clues utilized, such as divine names, literary style, religious ideas, historical background, and so forth.

The standard analysis of the Pentateuch into four basic documents, as presented by Julius Wellhausen, has been attacked in recent years both *in toto* and in various single parts. It may be said that after more than a century of critical investigation the work is still in progress and—who can tell?—may never be completed to the satisfaction of all scholars. For we lack all direct information on the growth of the Pentateuch and we must rely merely on its text for more or less accidental marks of diversity of sources—if any.

The reader is urged to approach these pages with an open mind. At the beginning he may be disturbed by the small part of the Pentateuch which is traced back to Moses, while most of it is ascribed to later writers. But such is the verdict of modern historical scholarship, which does not in the least minimize the gigantic figure of Moses, who, as Dr. Lewy agrees, created a nation out of Egyptian slaves and desert nomads, and gave them an imperishable religion in the worship of Jehovah (*YHWH*).

Readers of detective stories do not wish to know the solution of

the murder case at the beginning: the mystery holds their attention to the end, when the denouement is reached. Since this book leads up to the solution of a mystery, this foreword must keep the reader in suspense and merely assure him that he will be thrilled by the search and discovery on the following pages.

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Preface

Modern archacology has certainly contributed much to our knowledge of the civilizations of the ancient Near East, but none of its discoveries has enabled us to solve the age-old problem of the composition of the Pentateuch. This book remains the key document for understanding the birth and growth of ancient Israel's character, religion, and culture. The grandiose theory of the German Professor Wellhausen no longer casts its spell over the majority of modern scholars, but "no other theory has succeeded in replacing it" (Professor Rowley). A splendid structure erected with ingenuity and industry is crumbling before our eyes, but there is no architectural genius among us who can rebuild a new system on solid foundations. It is high time that Pentateuchal research "overcome the present stage of stagnation," (Professor J. Bewer), uncertainty, dissension, and skepticism, and lay the foundations for a new and enduring structure.

In my book, *The Birth of the Bible—A New Approach*,¹ (referred to hereafter as B.o.B.), I sketched a design for just such a new systematic structure. My thesis was and is that the Pentateuch, though a highly composite work, is not a compilation from various independent sources. Instead I sought to establish that the Pentateuch began with one basic document, a literary and ethical masterwork, which was enlarged, revised, and annotated over a long period. Wellhausen's order of the sources, listed as J E D P, was substantially correct, but his attributions, interpretation, and dating was unsatisfactory.

The origin of the Torah must have been the Yahwist Protopenateuch, written by a teacher, who was an enlightened, humane, and peace-loving statesman. This teacher must have lived during the United Kingdom, ushering in the golden age of Israel's literature. He probably wrote the Protopenateuch as a textbook for Prince Solomon, one intended to make him a just, wise, humane,

1. Now sold by Reconstructionist Press, 15 West 86th Street, New York, N. Y.

and peaceful ruler. I have brought to light evidence that justifies identifying this great master with the prophet Nathan, the first teacher and statesman of the moral tradition. The value of Nathan's book was so apparent that it was adopted by the Jerusalemite priests as their school text. Before adopting it, however, they revised it so as to make it conform to their priestly views and interests. Some generations later, during the anti-Phoenician resistance movement of the mid-ninth century, the book was annotated—in the north by the prophetic guild headed by the prophet-statesman Elisha, and in the south by the priestly school in Jerusalem led by the priest-regent Jehoiada. The first annotator was substantially the northern Elohists (E); the second was the southern Elohists—the priestly narrator who wrote the oldest portions of the so-called P document, indicated in this book as Pn.

After the fall of Samaria, the northern literature came to Jerusalem and the sacred writings were collected under King Hezekiah. The Hezekian editors kept both Elohist versions, preserving each of them intact, without making any attempt to harmonize their contradictions. They also re-edited and amplified the basic Deuteronomic Code, which was originally a northern Elohist book of laws. The Hezekian editors adapted this code to their own religious needs, eliminating all pagan symbols and the high places, and concentrating the cult in a single national sanctuary. This Jerusalemite edition of Deuteronomy was hidden during the long reign of the paganizing King Manasseh and was rediscovered under King Josiah. But the times had changed; the priests and cultic prophets felt that Deuteronomy was inadequate for purposes of the cult. The times required a rich and colorful sacrificial cult, with an elaborate ritual of atonement, a well-articulated priestly hierarchy, and a finely robed high priest; stricter observance of purity and sex taboos; heavier sanctions against foreign cults and magical practices, sex crimes, sabbath desecration; and finally, effective land reform on the basis of a jubilee legislation. The recognition of these needs led to the compilation of the Priestly Code and its incorporation into the Torah. This code consisted, to a great extent, of ancient material, orally transmitted through the priestly school in Jerusalem.

The new approach suggested by the present writer views the Pentateuch as a pre-exilic book, to a great extent even antedating

Amos and Isaiah. This conforms to the whole tenor of Biblical tradition, which holds that the literary prophets presuppose the Torah, rather than that the Torah morality is an outgrowth of the influence of the literary prophets, as is assumed by the school of Wellhausen. Only twenty-seven verses are post-exilic (Lev 26:34-35, 40-45; Nu 24:23-24; Dt 4:25-31, 30:1-10). These may have been added by the Jews who returned from Babylon to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel and Joshua.

"This is the most thoroughgoing coordination of the historical material with national crises," said Professor I. G. Matthews in his review of the *Birth of the Bible* (*Christian Century*, June 21, 1950). "Great crises," he added, "at times were productive of great changes in the national and religious outlook." The Biblical reconstruction advanced in this book was, to his mind, "worthy of the most serious consideration." He called the thesis challenging, but believed that there were grave difficulties in the way of its confirmation. "The early date for both the beginning and the closing of the Pentateuch raises questions of the most serious type." Professor Matthews is a follower of the Wellhausen school, and prefers a later dating. But the improvement of critical methods and the archaeological discoveries of the last decades have revolutionized the dating of the ancient civilizations of the Near East.

Since other critics have declared that my argumentation was not fully convincing, I am now presenting much more material than I could in my previous book, which, intended as it was for a larger public, could not present an exhaustive treatment.

The present book discusses in detail the contributions made by all the great masters to whom we are indebted for the Pentateuch; it will not primarily concentrate on the personality and the work of the Yahwist, as did the *Birth of the Bible*, but will treat of the other co-authors with equal sympathy and thoroughness. For this reason, the analysis will proceed from the better-known later documents to the lesser known earlier ones, thus beginning with the Priestly Code and ending with the Yahwist document, the Covenant Code, and the contribution of the lawgiver Moses.

The Seventh-Century Priestly Code

JEREMIAH'S PROTEST

*Conflict between Jeremiah and Hilkiyah
over the Canonization of the Priestly Code*

In Jeremiah 7:21-23 we read this startling statement:

Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: "Add your burnt offerings to your sacrifices, and eat meat. For in the time when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, I did not speak to your fathers or command them concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. But this command I gave them: 'Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people.'"

Here we stand on firm ground. The words are clear, and the author can only be the prophet Jeremiah, not one of the post-exilic priestly or prophetic glossators who believed in the divine and Mosaic origin of the Israelitic cult. Jeremiah is here protesting loudly against this belief. What could have happened to cause the prophet to protest so boldly, clearly, and uncompromisingly against the priestly tradition of the Mosaic origin and divine character of the sacrificial cult? The answer is given in 8:8-10:

How can you say, "We are wise, and the Torah of Yahweh is with us?" As a matter of fact, the mendacious pen of the scribes has falsified it.¹

1. This passage cannot mean that the priests misinterpreted a law case as in Is 10:1, as Professor Junker assumes, but clearly means a falsification of the text of the Torah by the scribes.

Jeremiah then announces the punishment, concluding:

... because from the least to the greatest every one is greedy for unjust gain; from prophet to priest everyone acts mendaciously.

This can only mean that the scribes, in collusion with the greedy priests and prophets, have falsified the written Torah and have interpolated as commandments of God references to the sacrificial cult introduced after the Exodus. Since Jeremiah calls the scribes, priests, and prophets of his own generation liars and forgers, he can only be referring to a sacrificial code edited in his time. He cannot be referring to the older codes, the Covenant Code or Deuteronomy. Moreover, both codes deal substantially with non-sacrificial matters. Although the Covenant Code occasionally mentions festival sacrifices, it does not include special commandments concerning burnt offerings or other sacrifices. Deuteronomy, on the other hand, records addresses and laws delivered by Moses in the land of Moab. It is concerned with reducing the sacrificial cult, but not with commanding burnt offerings and other sacrifices as divine laws given shortly after the exodus. Hence Jeremiah can only be referring to the Priestly Code.

In Leviticus 7:37, 38, at the conclusion of the first seven chapters, we read this colophon:

This is the Torah of the burnt offering, of the cereal offering, of the guilt offering, of the consecration, and of the peace offerings, which Yahweh commanded Moses on Mount Sinai, on the day that He commanded the people of Israel to bring their offerings to Yahweh, in the wilderness of Sinai.

A shorter colophon at the end of Leviticus reads:

These are the commandments which Yahweh commanded Moses for the people of Israel on Mount Sinai.

The book of Leviticus in its present form holds the view that detailed legislation dealing with the sacrificial cult, and other priestly and cultic affairs, was an integral part of the divine Sinaitic revelation to Moses. Deuteronomy holds a different view of the Mosaic

legislation. It clearly distinguishes between the divine legislation at Horeb, issuing from the fire on the mountain, which included the Ten Commandments, and the Mosaic legislation given forty years after the Exodus in the land of Moab (Dt 5; 1:1-3; 4:44, 46; 28:69) Deuteronomy never commands that special offerings be made for special occasions. On festivals, every man was to give according to his capacity and wealth. Deuteronomy 12 emphasizes that if an Israelite wishes to offer a sacrifice, he must go to the one national sanctuary in the God-chosen city, and there offer it. The killing of a heifer by the elders of a town in the case of an unexpiated murder (Dt 21) is an expiational ritual, not a burnt offering or a peace offering.

From all this it follows that Jeremiah protested against the priestly code as described in the book of Leviticus, and not against the limitation of the cult, as demanded by Deuteronomy. Manifestly, the book of Leviticus, at least substantially, was written down and published by the priests of the time of King Josiah, who, alone of all the kings succeeding Hezekiah, was a loyal servant of Yahweh. Neither Josiah's predecessors Manasseh and Amon, nor his successors, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, were true to Yahweh. Only under Josiah's reign did the loyal priests of Yahweh have the opportunity and the authority to publish a priestly code which was intended to conform to the anti-pagan religion of Moses and David.

The "Book of the Torah" or the "Book of the Covenant," which was found in 621, in the eighteenth year of King Josiah's reign, did not consist of the Priestly Code, or any sections of it. The book that was discovered was the official Mosaic Code, from the days of King Hezekiah. It was presumably hidden during the time of Manassah and Amon, for these kings favored a syncretistic half-pagan cult and restored the local shrines, contradicting both the spirit and the letter of Deuteronomy, which was part of the Mosaic Code. The discovered book may have consisted of Deuteronomy and the Covenant Code, or Deuteronomy alone, or only those portions of it which contained the curses of Deuteronomy 28 (see 2 Ki 22:19).

Why was the Priestly Code, substantially or entirely reduced to writing in the days of Josiah? The most plausible answer is that the fifty-five years' reign of the paganizing King Manasseh, and the two years' reign of his son Amon, had proved that the Deutero-

conomic reform of Hezekiah was too negative, unrealistic, and unpopular. The exhortatory addresses and joyful festivals suggested by Deuteronomy were not powerful enough to stem the popular trend towards the sensual paganistic cults. The prohibition of pagan symbols and high places, unaccompanied by drastic punishments, was ineffectual. Since Jerusalem could not employ all Levites as officiating priests, many rural priests naturally became hostile to the reform which declared Jerusalem to be the only sanctuary. Furthermore, during this period, many small farmers became indebted to the big landowners; eventually, when their farms were foreclosed, they had to sell their labor. The discontent of these expropriated farmers sought an outlet in their opposition to the government which forbade them even to worship at the local shrines.

Hilkiah believed that what was needed was a well-organized sacrificial cult with a full ritual of atonement and expiation, a well-articulated priestly hierarchy, a splendidly robed high priest, and death penalties for magical practices, sexual crimes, and sabbath desecration. Since appeals for voluntary charity were not sufficient to solve the social problem of the indebted farmer and the greedy landowner, a grand system of social legislation with the jubilee year was set up to supplement the release of debts in the seventh year; this system returned the property to the small farmer who had sold his holdings under financial pressure.

Deuteronomy had demanded that all Levitical priests who came from the country to the capital should officiate on an equal basis with those who lived in Jerusalem (Dt 18:6-8). This demand could not be fulfilled because of the resistance of the Jerusalemite priests (2 Ki 23:9). These Jerusalemite priests may have argued somewhat along these lines: First, the larger the number of priests, the smaller the portion of each. Second, these very rural priests had supported those kings who had been disloyal to the true religion of Yahwism. This was the same argument which Ezekiel picked up in his youth when he was still in Jerusalem; he built his future community plan, designed in Babylon, on the distinction between the loyal Zadokite priests and the disloyal rural Levites (Ez 40-48). The high priest Hilkiah, who may be considered responsible for the publication of the Priestly Code, had the difficult task of adapting the old priestly traditions to the needs of his time. Since the priestly institutions and instructions were for the most part very old, it was the general

practice to date all ordinances back to Moses, the first Hebrew lawgiver and priest. To conform with this custom and to lend the Priestly Code religious sanction and authority, Hilkiah had to set the reorganization of the priesthood within the traditional framework of the Mosaic age and setting. Now, Zadok had lived in the Davidic age. Therefore Hilkiah could not make the distinction between the loyal Zadokites and the disloyal Levites, as Ezekiel was able to do in his scheme for a future Israelite community. Since the Zadokites claimed descent from Aaron, the elder brother of Moses, Hilkiah could only distinguish between the Aaronites and the other Levites.

REFORM OF THE PRIESTHOOD

The reorganization of the new priesthood is expounded in Numbers 3 and 4, where it is represented as a divine revelation made to Moses on Mount Sinai (Nu 3:1). This section begins by noting that Aaron had four sons, so that Israel had five priests during the Mosaic period. However, since Aaron's two eldest sons, Nadab and Abihu, had been killed because they used unholy fire, only Eleazar and Ithamar had served as priests during the lifetime of their father. The rest of the tribe of Levi were priests of an inferior order, that is to say, they served the Aaronic priests. The separate Levitic clans and their special functions as servants of the sanctuary were enumerated. These were to be under the supervision of the Aaronic priests, "who appoint them each to his task and to his burden" (Nu 4:19). The Levites "must not look upon the holy things lest they die" (Nu 4:20). God had chosen the whole tribe of Levi to be his special servants as a substitute for the firstborn sons when he slew all the firstborn sons of Egypt (Nu 3:13).

This is an entirely new reading of the history of the priesthood, and one unknown to all older sources. Deuteronomy does not recognize any classification of Levitical priests.

God had set apart the tribe of Levi to carry the Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh, to stand before Yahweh and minister to him and to bless in His name, to this day. (Dt 10:8)

The Levitical priests, that is, all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion or inheritance with Israel; they shall eat the offerings by fire to Yahweh and his rightful dues. (Dt 18:1)

The blessing of Moses, which is seen to be older than Deuteronomy in that it does not prohibit local shrines, does indeed mention the priestly monopoly of the Levites, but it does not discriminate among them.

They shall teach Jacob thy ordinances, and Israel thy Torah; they shall put incense before thee and burnt offerings upon thy altar. (Dt 33:10)

The distinction between Aaronites and Levites as different priestly classes of unequal rank is found only in the Priestly Code, that is, in the legislative sections of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, excluding those sections before Exodus 25. A closer analysis shows that this distinction is found only in a few sections of PC; while Exodus 28 and 29 order special garments for the Aaronic priests and their consecration, Exodus 39 and 40 reports the performance of this order, and Leviticus 8-10 reports the special offerings brought by the Aaronic priests after they had put on their special garments and had been anointed. In Leviticus 16 we learn of an atonement ritual by which Aaron has to make atonement for himself, his household, and the people of Israel. Numbers 3;4;17:1-5;18 explicitly describe the various functions of the Aaronites and the Levites. The Levites are especially warned not to burn incense; this is the privilege of the descendants of Aaron (17:5, Hebrew text).

Since most sections of PC do not presuppose the Aaronic priestly privilege, it is probable that many priestly collections of PC are older than Hilkiyah's reform. These twelve chapters, or the portions of them which presuppose the Aaronic priestly privilege, were therefore incorporated into the traditional text of the priestly schools in Jerusalem by Hilkiyah. That he elaborated upon the traditional text can be proved by an analysis of the story of the revolt of Korah (Nu 16) and of the blossoming rod of Aaron (17:16-26 Hebrew text). The analysis in question will follow shortly.

Two Struggles for Power

The history of the Israelitic priesthood gives evidence of two important struggles for power. The older of these struggles was between the Levites and the non-Levites. Samuel, David, and his

sons were priests but not Levites. The Northern sanctuaries probably had both Levitical and non-Levitical priests during the whole period of the Northern Kingdom (1 Ki 12:31). After the fall of Samaria in the days of Hezekiah, Jerusalem had only Levitical priests, as we learn from those parts of Deuteronomy which were added by the Hezekian edition (*see* pp. 85, 86). The Chronicler (2 Chr 26) records that the priests of Jerusalem did not allow King Uzziah to burn incense. Since the king, as reported, was stricken with leprosy on his forehead, this may have been interpreted as a providential sanction of the priestly claim. The episode in Exodus 32:26-29 ascribes to Moses the election of the tribe of Levi as the priestly tribe, as does the oracle relating to Levi in the blessing of Moses (Dt 33:8-10). Both of these sections may belong to the ninth century (*see* pp. 195, 197). It may be that the priest-regent Jehoiada, who made a covenant with the king and the people, had sanctioned the priestly claim to the exclusive Levitical priesthood. Some of the later kings may have tried to restore the former status of a partly non-Levitical priesthood, but their struggle ended with Uzziah's disease.

We must assume that the priestly school in Jerusalem in the ninth century, probably under the authority of the priest-regent Jehoiada, readapted or inserted some stories in the basic Tetrateuch of its day: the episode in Exodus 32:26-29 (*see* p. 120), the blessing of Moses (at least the Levi oracle), and the Reubenite revolt against Moses' leadership. From this time must also stem the original story of the blossoming rod of Levi. There can be no doubt that the original text in Numbers 17:16-26 read in verse 23 (Hebrew text) "the rod of Levi had sprouted and put forth buds and produced blossoms." The present text "the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi" is an awkward correction made under Hilkiah. Verses 18 ("And write Aaron's name on the rod of Levi") and 21b ("and the rod of Aaron was among them") stem from the same revising editor. The original ninth century story was recorded in order to prove the providential sanction of the tribe of Levi as the elected one. With a minimum of correction, Hilkiah gave this old story of the fighting for the Levitical monopoly a new turn, the sanction of the Aaronite monopoly. For other text revisions *see* pp. 127-130.

A similar *tour de force* was accomplished in the case of the story of the antileader revolt (Nu 16). This story is older than

that of the blossoming rod. The original story describes a revolt by the leaders of the tribe of Reuben (the oldest Israelitic tribe) against Moses, the leader of the tribe of Levi. The first record related a revolt by Dathan and Abiram, who wanted equality without leadership, and refused to obey Moses' summons. Angrily protesting that he had done wrong to no man, Moses went to Dathan and Abiram himself. At that moment the earth opened its mouth and swallowed the rebels. To this old Yahwist narrative of the tenth century belongs the following verses of Numbers 16: 2aa, 1b, 3ab, 12-15aa,b,25,27b,32a,33a,34 (see Appendix 4).

There must have been an old tradition that some Reubenites were the victims of an earthquake. The Hebrew narrator explains this as a punishment for their unjustified revolt against an unselfish and devoted leader. The priestly narrator of the ninth century (who will hereafter be called Pn) gave the story a new turn: it was a large-scale revolt of more than two hundred and fifty recalcitrants, led by Korah, who wished to take Moses' place as leader. Moses suggested that every man bring an offering, and that the man whose offering should be accepted would be recognized as holy. This procedure was followed, and a heavenly fire consumed the rebels. To this ninth-century priestly stratum belong the following verses: 1a,3aa,b, 5-7a,15ab,16a,17a,18a,23,24,27a,32b,35. Pn, as we shall see later (pp. 116, 161), was a numerologist, fond of large and exact figures, and concerned about *possession*(*r'chush* 32b). However, the prophetic warning and the announcement of the unusual death of the rebels as proof of Moses' divine mission (28-31), belongs to the deuteronomic edition of the Hezekian period, as indicated by its phraseology (see Dt 11:6).

The whole elaborate story was readapted by Hilkiah to his new reform, which distinguished between the Aaronites and the Levites. In Hilkiah's version, Korah becomes the leader of a Levitical revolt against the new reform, aiming at the restoration of equality with the priests. Moses makes clear to them that the Levites should be content with the right to serve God as ministers of the temple, and should not seek the priesthood as well. To this latest priestly stratum of the Josian period belong the following verses: 4,7b-11,16b,17b, 18b-22.

Numbers 17:1-15 is Hilkiah's epilogue to the story of the Levitical revolt of Korah against Moses and Aaron. After the earthquake had

buried Korah and his company alive and lightning had struck the two hundred and fifty men who had offered the incense (16:35 Hebrew text), the Aaronite priest Eleazar was told by Yahweh to take up the censers from the fire and have them hammered into plates as a warning memorial to the people. When the Israelites murmured against Moses and Aaron, charging them with having killed the people of Yahweh, the wrath of Yahweh became so fierce that he would have destroyed the people immediately. At that moment, Moses told Aaron to lay incense on his censer, and, carrying it quickly to the assembled people, make atonement for them in order to halt the plague. In this way Aaron halted the plague, which had already killed 14,700 people.

This story was told as proof that Aaron had saved the people from a murderous plague by his atonement ritual. When the people spoke so disrespectfully against Moses and Aaron, the glory of God appeared as warning (v. 7). All these details fit completely the character and outlook of Hilkiah. The figure 14,700 may also symbolize his idea of atonement. The number seven means sacredness, wholeness: 14,700 contains the number seven three times: $7,000 + 7,000 + 700$. Incidentally, the seventy bullocks to be offered on the Feast of Booths according to the PC (Nu 29) may be symbolize the idea of atonement as well.

From the account of the revolt of the Levite Korah against the divinely sanctioned priesthood of Aaron and his family, we perceive that Hilkiah's priesthood reform met the greatest resistance among the Levites, who felt themselves degraded and wanted to have more cultic rights. Their hostility against the Jerusalemite priests must have continued for a very long time, for the list of Jews who returned from Babylon under Zerubbabel in 520 to Jerusalem and Judah includes only seventy-four Levites compared to 973 priests (Ezra 2:36). In addition to the Levites the list includes 148 singers, 138 gatekeepers and 392 temple servants and sons of Solomon's servants. Even if we consider the singers and doorkeepers as a lower Levitical class, the three categories of Levites total only 360, in contrast to the 973 priests.

From Ezra 8:15 we learn that there were originally no Levites among those who returned with the priest Ezra, and that Ezra had to send some prominent men to Casiphia requesting that the Casiphians send some Levites to Jerusalem. The Casiphians responded with

thirty-eight. We must assume that Casiphia was a kind of Levitical settlement; there they may have been engaged in agricultural or commercial work and trade, and many may have become rich and were not willing to return to the poor land of their fathers. There may also have been a cultural center in this place; the Levites had probably circulated some books about the history of the cult and some of temple music. Presumably some psalms had been written down in Casiphia, particularly those by the sons of Korah and Asaph. The famous psalm 137 may have also been sung in their circles. The Chronicler seems to have made some use of the books which were written in this Levitical center. The Levites may have included some who feared God (Ps 103:13,17; 115:11,13, etc.), as well as some who had given up the God of their fathers (Ps 14:1; 53:2). In any case, it seems obvious that the distinction between the Aaronite priests and the Levites cannot have been the work of Ezra, but must go back to the end of the monarchic period. No other authoritative person than Hilkiah, the high priest of King Josiah, could have risked such a drastic reform. The kings after Josiah's death were either too hostile or too weak to take so drastic a measure:

The Hilkian reform was unpopular, not only in the circles of the Levites, but also in rural areas and among some prophetic circles. So it is no wonder that the prophetic writer of Isaiah 66:21 called the priests Levitical priests as in Deuteronomy, or that the author of the book of Malachi in Malachi 2:4 reminds the priests of the divine covenant with Levi, which, he asserts, had identified priests with Levites. The priestly prophet Ezekiel, however, favored the distinction between the Jerusalemite priests, i.e., the Zadokite priests, on the one hand, and the rural Levites on the other. In his scheme for the future Israelite community Ezekiel presupposed the discriminatory practice of Hilkiah. It is unlikely that so decisive a reform could have been invented by an ecstatic prophet planning a utopia for his suffering and scattered people. Wellhausen's theory, which makes Ezekiel's stern anti-Levite policy the forerunner of the slightly milder policy of the Priestly Code, thus dating the code from the days of Ezra, neglects the psychological and the sociological conditions for such a reform, conditions which require the cooperation of royal and priestly authority. Such conditions existed under the high priesthood of Hilkiah, during the reign of

King Josiah, who collaborated with those priests who were devoted to an unadulterated Yahwism.

Hilkiah, the First "High Priest"

The term "High Priest" (*hakohen hagadol*) occurs infrequently in the Pentateuch. It is first used in the statutes concerning the funeral customs and marriage restrictions of the "priest who is greater than his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil is poured, and who has been consecrated to wear the garments" (Lev 21:10). Here the new term is defined as meaning the greater priest, the anointed priest, and the specially robed priest. In the atonement ritual the same office-holder is described as "the priest who is anointed and consecrated as priest in his father's place" (Lev 16:32). In the statutes referring to the cities of refuge, we read that the accidental manslayer shall flee to a city or refuge and stay there "till the death of the great priest who was anointed with the holy oil" (Nu 35:25). It is in verse 28 that we first meet the term *hakohen hagadol* as a technical term denoting the highest representative of the priesthood, the anointed and specially robed priest.

At what period did Israel first have a high priest? The scholars are divided, as they so often are. Morgenstern believes that after the rebellion of Zerubbabel (520) the Persians allowed only priests to be heads of the Jewish community. They organized a theocracy and created the office of the high priest, anointed and robed as a king. First he was called the anointed priest, later the high priest. The first person to hold the title of High Priest (*hakohen hagadol*) was Johanan (starting in 411). Consequently, the Priestly Code must have been finally redacted during Johanan's high priesthood. All this, however, is highly speculative.

Morgenstern's tendency to date the high priesthood very late is counterbalanced by Albright's preference for an early date. Albright found that there was a high priest in Egypt at Thebes from the fourteenth century, and that Ugarit had a Rabbu Kahanim (master priest) in the fourteenth and thirteenth century. So he assumes that pre-monarchic Israel also had a high priest. The high priests Phinehas and Eli were political figures; therefore, in those days Shiloh must have had a high priest. After the establishment of the monarchy the position of the high priest declined.

With the fall of the monarchy the high priest regained his prestige. However, Albright's theory, too, is highly speculative.

It is noteworthy that even in the latest ages of the PC or in the historical books, neither Aaron, Eleazar, Phinehas, or Eli was called "the greater priest" (*hakohen hagadol*), but "the priest." The first priest to be called "the greater priest" was Hilkiah (2 Ki 22:4,8; 23:4). The Chronicler occasionally calls some earlier priests such as Amariah, Jehoiada¹ and Azariah "chief priests" (2 Chr. 19:11; 24:6,11; 26:20). From this one may conclude that the title of the leading priest was "the priest." The priest-regent Jehoiada may have introduced the title of "chief priest" (*kohen harosh*), and Hilkiah the title of "the greater priest" (*hakohen hagadol*). This was obviously part of his priesthood reform. Hilkiah wanted a well-articulated priestly hierarchy with a high and a low clergy, headed by a high priest. The high priest was anointed and crowned and wore special holy garments, as described in Exodus 28 and 39. Before this time, the head of the Jerusalemite priests had not been anointed. This is proved by 1 Samuel 2:35: "And I will raise up for myself a faithful priest, who shall do according to what is in my heart and in my mind; and I will build him a sure house, and he shall go in and out before my anointed all the days." The anointed is the king, not the priest. If the priest had been anointed, the writer would have said "the anointed king." The language of this prophecy is Deuteronomic. The phrases "in my heart and my mind" and *kol hayamim* (all the days) occur frequently in Deuteronomic texts and never in PC texts. This passage obviously belongs to the Hezekian edition of the books of Samuel. Since Manasseh and Amon cannot have introduced a kingly high priest, all probability favors the assumption that it was Hilkiah, the high priest of King Josiah, who introduced one.

Why did Hilkiah create this office of the high-priesthood?

1. Jehoiada is called "the priest" eight times in 2 Kings and seven times in 2 Chronicles. Only once, in 2 Kings 12:11, does our text have "*kohen hagadol*," but in 2 Chronicles 24:11, the same text has "*kohen harosh*" (chief priest) as in verse 6. The editor of Kings, who used "*kohen hagadol*" for Jehoiada, either used the term familiar in his days, or a copyist added "*hagadol*." The title of "*kohen harosh*" did not disappear abruptly, as 2 Kings 25:18 proves. It may have been revived with the reactionary movement after Josiah's death.

The institution of a priest-king existed in Jerusalem from the most ancient times. In pre-Israelitic time, Jerusalem's priest-kings had the title Melchizedek (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4) or Adoni-zedek (Jos 10:1). Both titles mean the same: My God is Zedek (justice). The Israelites identified Zedek with Yahweh—Isaiah still hoped that Jerusalem would be called again the city of Zedek (justice) "as in former times" (Is 1:26). David and Solomon were kings not only of Judah and Israel, but priest-kings of Yahweh-Zedek in Jerusalem as well. "Yahweh has sworn and will not change his mind: 'You are a priest for ever, on my word of honor, Melchizedek!'" (Ps 110:4). Here King David or one of his successors is called the priest-king of Zedek.

Rowley may be right in assuming that the priest Zadok, who together with Abiathar was a leading priest under David, and later the chief priest under Solomon, was originally the priest-king of Jerusalem. After accepting the religion of Yahweh, Zadok was made a descendant of Aaron and received the name Yehozadok, that is, Yahweh is Zedek. This name was shortened to Zadok, in the same way as Jonathan became Nathan. If that is true, we can fully understand why the priestly dynasty of the Zadokites in Jerusalem wanted to regain the priestly monopoly. They may actually have regained it under the priest-regent Jehoiada, but some later kings, like Uzziah, insisted on the priestly rights of the king. Uzziah's disease, however, meant a victory for the priests. In the eyes of the Hezekian redactor of the Books of Samuel, the Zadokites were God-chosen faithful priests who should walk before the anointed (king) (1 Sam 2:35). They were the priestly hands of the king.

According to the genuine northern Hebrew tradition (Gideon, Jotham, Samuel, Hosea) the institution of the kingdom was a foreign borrowing. The Hebrew tribes had chiefs and judges, but no kings before Saul. The true king of Israel was Yahweh (Ju 8:23). The Hezekian editor of the Deuteronomic statute referring to the king tried to reconcile the different traditions: the anti-monarchic north-Israelitic, on the one hand, and the priest-kingly tradition of Jerusalem, on the other. He called for the king to be humble, not greedy, and familiar with the sacred book of the Torah, which was in the hands of the priests (Dt 17:18-20). Yahweh should reign

through a king loyal to Him, not through one who officiated as a priest. The king should be a priest-king, a Melchi-zedek, spiritually, but not technically.

However, the disloyalty of King Manasseh and his son made it clear to Hilkiah that Deuteronomy was too unrealistic, too utopian. The king as a non-Aaronite could not officiate as priest; but he needed as his right hand a high priest, anointed, crowned, and robed like a king, for whom the people would have great respect. This, Hilkiah believed, would be the best guarantee against the rise of new Manassehs.

These two heads, the representative of the state and the representative of the priesthood, should share the power like the two consuls of Rome or the two kings of Sparta. It is this duarchy which the prophet Zechariah had before his eyes when he saw "the two anointed who stand by the Lord of the whole earth." (Zech 4:14). Hilkiah read history in the light of his ideals. This duarchy, he thought, was not a completely new institution, but had existed, to some extent, in the Mosaic age, when it was represented first by Moses and Aaron, and later by Joshua and Eleazar (Nu 27:19-21). Although Hilkiah (PC) never called Aaron the high priest, he described his consecration, anointment, and his holy garments in complete detail in Exodus 28,29,39,40 and Leviticus 16.

Hilkiah's plan did not succeed. After King Josiah's tragic death in battle, popular sentiment was not in favor of continuing Hilkiah's duarchy. King Jehoiakim and his successors may have restored the priestly claims of the king as they had been maintained in the days of Manasseh and during the early monarchy. However, many of the Jerusalemite priests did not give up the Hilkian ideal. To them the PC was part of the sacred book of the Torah. Among them was the priest-prophet Zechariah, who expected the two anointed men, Zerubbabel and Joshua, to fulfil Hilkiah's ideal. The prophet describes Joshua as the high priest (*hakohen bagadol*) who was anointed and crowned and wore the holy garments, as in the PC. The fact that Zechariah in 520 used the term high priest several times for Joshua, and that the editor of Kings uses it many times for Hilkiah, refutes Morgenstern's theory that the term high priest was not in use before 411. For, as is generally assumed with reference to 2 Kings 25:27 ff., the final editor of Kings must have written about 560. If all the mentioned passages were post-editorial

glosses, why have the glossators not also called the pre-Hilkian chief priests, "high priests"?

The need for a rich, anti-pagan cult

The fall of Samaria in 722 spread anxiety and fear throughout Judah. The prophets had foretold the coming disaster. Not long afterward the "men around Hezekiah" issued the new and enlarged edition of Deuteronomy (see pp. 112-113) which contained the Hezekian reform. This reform tried to eliminate all pagan symbols and images, abolished the local shrines, and reduced the cult locally and materially. The reformers felt that the people should be educated to a more spiritual religion through an appeal to their nobler emotions. The people ought to fear and to love God, be thankful to him and obey his commandments. On festivals they should make a pilgrimage to the national sanctuary and there share a sacred meal with the members of their families and the needy of the nation, joyfully thanking their Maker for his bountiful blessing by a freewill offering, made by each man according to his ability.

This policy failed lamentably to stem the tide of paganism. After the death of Hezekiah, King Manasseh took a course diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor. Instead of being eliminated, paganism flourished even more vigorously for another fifty-seven years. This catastrophic failure of the Hezekian reform led Hilkiah to adopt a new policy. Though reduced to one location, the sacrificial cult must not be reduced in its substance; on the contrary, it must be amplified. Jerusalem must remain the only sanctuary, as the tabernacle was in the wilderness under Moses (Lev 17:2-4). All slaughtering outside the sanctuary was to be considered reprehensible shedding of blood. "That man shall be cut off from among his people." (v. 4). The permission given by Deuteronomy to "slaughter and eat flesh within any of the towns, as much as one desires" (Dt 12:15) was implicitly withdrawn. The sacrificial cult itself was to be encouraged, not restricted. A rich, colorful, and attractive sacrificial cult must become the center of the religion of Yahweh. The priests must blow the trumpets on festivals and on days of national calamities,

over burnt offerings and peace offerings (Nu 10: 8-10). The priest was to wear special clean garments and wash his body before putting on the holy garments (Lev 16:4). Neither the priest nor any victim was to have any blemish (Lev 21:16ff.; 22:17ff). Only clean food must be eaten. A beast that has died a natural death, or has been found killed by another beast, must not be eaten. All aggressive and predatory animals, and those who wallow in filth are to be considered unclean. All kinds of skin diseases or bodily discharges make a person unclean. Uncleanliness can be washed away by water; besides water, blood and oil are used for invigorating, healing, or consecrating. God is holy; he hates all unclean and defective things. A person who is unclean, physically or morally, may overcome his feeling of guilt by bringing a guilt offering (Lev 5). If any person has committed a sin unwittingly, he shall bring a sin offering and lay his hands on the head of the goat. If the ritual has been performed correctly, the sinner will be forgiven (Lev 4). The laying of hands means that the sinner recognizes that he deserves the death penalty, but through an act of divine clemency he is allowed to substitute an offering. He also has to confess his sin (Lev 5:5; 16:21).

If a person has deprived his fellow man of his property in a matter of deposit or security, or through robbery or oppression, or if he has found a lost object and lied about it, or has sworn falsely concerning anything, he must restore what he has taken unjustly (Lev 5: 20-26, Hebrew text). He must add to it one-fifth of its value, and bring a guilt offering without blemish to the priest, who shall make atonement for him; then the sinner shall be forgiven (24-26).

The idea of atonement plays a central role in Hilkiyah's reformation. In Deuteronomy, in the Covenant Code, and in the historic books, only burnt offerings and peace offerings are mentioned, not sin offerings or guilt offerings.¹ In PC there are no less than twenty-four chapters which refer to sin offerings, guilt offerings or atonement. There are thirteen such chapters in Leviticus, i.e., Leviticus 4-10; 12; 14-16; 19; 23, and eleven such chapters in Numbers, i.e., Numbers 5-8; 15; 17-19; 28-29; 31. During festivals, thirty

1. 2 Kings 12:17. The sentence, "The money from the guilt offerings and from the sin offerings was not brought into the temple, but belonged to the priests," is a late gloss. It is not in the parallel text of 2 Chronicles 24:14.

goats are to be offered for sin offerings (Nu 28, 29). On the day of his consecration, Aaron offered a sin offering for himself and for the people, accompanied by a solemn atonement ritual which ended with his blessing the people and with the offering being accepted by a heavenly fire (Lev 9). On that day, Nadab and Abihu, the two eldest sons of Aaron, died, because they had offered unholy fire (Lev 10:1.2). This story is an obvious warning against those priests who followed foreign rituals or pagan practices as did the Jerusalemite priests in the days of King Manasseh. Another solemn ritual of sin offerings for the atonement of the high priest, his household, and all the people, was to take place once a year on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16).

This sin offering of goats was intended to end the practice popular during the time of Manasseh, in which the people "offered sacrifices to satyr-goats after whom they played the harlot" (Lev 17:7). The leader of these satyrs was obviously the arch-demon or arch-goat, Azazel. This must have been an obscene and ecstatic fertility cult of great popularity, to counteract which, apparently, Hilkiah had introduced a Yahwist parody. One goat destined for Azazel was to be sent to the desert loaded with all the sins of the people in order to be thrown down from the rocks. Another goat destined for Yahweh was to be offered to Yahweh as a sin offering, thus demonstrating that Yahweh was the true God and Azazel a powerless mock-God. By this ritual, "the priest should make atonement for the holy place because of the uncleannesses of the people of Israel and because of their transgressions and all their sins" (Lev 16:16). Apparently, such an atonement ritual was introduced after the purification of the Temple in the days of Josiah. In subsequent years the ritual was repeated and finally made a "statute for ever" (Lev 16:29). Verses 29-31 were later added to the basic text.

The idea of atonement is, of course, much older than the Day of Atonement. The concept that innocently shed blood must be expiated by shedding the blood of the guilty person is very ancient. "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed" (Gen 9:6). This passage stems from Pn, a priestly stratum much older than Hilkiah (see pp. 121, 122). If the murderer cannot be found, a heifer shall be slain in his stead. The atonement ritual is described in Deuteronomy 21, which belongs to the oldest stratum of Deuteronomy (see pp. 95 and 96). There must have been a time

in which a human being—a prisoner, slave or criminal—was killed in order to propitiate the offended deity. An old injunction in Exodus 23:7 reads: "Do not slay the innocent and righteous." This belongs to the oldest humanitarian code of Israel, which is now part of the Covenant Code; it may have been added by the humane narrator of the Yahwist nucleus (see pp. 210, 211). The text of this humane law is presumably not correctly transmitted, since the terse author could not have written the redundant "innocent and righteous." The words "and righteous" cannot be a gloss, for "innocent" is clear enough and needs no further elucidation. The best emendation of this corrupt passage is to read: *velinqom dam naqi, tzaddiq 'al taharog*—and to avenge the innocent blood, do not slay an innocent person. This may belong to the Davidic era, which would lead to the assumption that the strong hand of King David may have put an end to this inhuman custom and may have made the substitution of an animal mandatory. At the same time the redemption of the first-born must have become mandatory. Exodus 34:20 presupposes this, whereas Exodus 22:28 does not mention the redemption. If the assumption of the present writer is correct (see p. 200) and Exodus 22:28 is pre-monarchic, while Exodus 34:20 is a revision by the Davidic priests, it may be assumed that it was indeed David who abolished the last remnants of human sacrifice, for Samuel still hewed Agag to pieces before Yahweh in Gilgal (1 Sam 15:33). This was not only a legal act but a ritual one, as well. The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter was also a ritual act. The hanging of the sons of Saul by the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:6), however, was a retaliatory act, the expiation of a murder, or a political act of expediency aiming at preventing the Saulites' return to power.

The old concept of atonement distinguishes between two kinds of blood, that which is shed innocently and cries for expiation (Gen 4:10) and that of the guilty person which must be shed for the purpose of expiation. This distinction is still the basis of Hilkiah's atonement ritual. He says: "You shall not pollute the land in which you live; for blood pollutes the land, and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed in it, except by the blood of him who shall shed it" (Nu 35:33). The novelty in Hilkiah's cult reform is the application of this old idea on a wider and more comprehensive scale. Each Jew who breaks the divine law, moral commandments, or ritual statutes, disturbs the God-willed order,

and by such a transgression virtually forfeits his life. His guilt cries for expiation; he must therefore offer a bloody sacrifice to make atonement for his sin or guilt (Lev 17:11). In allowing him to shed the blood of an animal instead of shedding his own blood, God demonstrates divine love, for God is holy—that is, perfect in goodness, justice, and power. The great number of moral commandments and ritual regulations have been ordained to intensify man's sense of responsibility and sin, and to exalt the feeling that man's life ought to be one of permanent service to God. This view expresses the sense that man's life is not only in the hands of God but is indeed a permanent gift of God; for if God were only a just Lord and not also a merciful Father, man would die for every transgression and deviation from the sacred order. It is noteworthy that Leviticus 4 and 5, which deal with the sin offerings state nine or ten times that God will forgive the sinner if he atone for his sin by restoring the order which he has disturbed.

A STRICTER PENAL CODE

The oldest penal code is found in the Covenant Code. It is apodictic, succinct, and rigorous, and thus conspicuously different from the civil code in which it is embedded. The author agrees with Professor Alt, who assumes that this apodictic penal code stems from Moses; the civil code, however, reflects an already settled population and may stem from the period of the Judges. The reduction of the criminal code to writing was probably the work of Samuel (see p. 166). The old Mosaic penal code condemns to death any one who beats another to death, who steals (or kidnaps) another and sells him, who beats or curses his parents, who cohabits with an animal, who is a sorcerer, or who sacrifices to gods other than Yahweh. The Deuteronomic Code consists, as shall be demonstrated later (see pp. 73-86), of an older northern edition from the time of Elisha combined with a later southern re-edition from the time of Hezekiah. The penal code of Deuteronomy belongs to the oldest parts of the book. It condemns to death: the prophet or agitator who tries to entice Israelites from the worship of Yahweh by urging them to worship foreign gods, the murderer, the rebellious son, the whoring daughter, anyone who steals a man and sells him, and anyone who disobeys the supreme judicial or priestly

authority. The Hezekian edition added only one new category—the false prophet of Yahweh.

The Priestly Code recognizes the following grades of punishments: the sinner may be cut off from the people, or may die (before his time), or may become childless, or may be stoned or burned to death. To be cut off from one's people is the punishment reserved for those who commit serious ritual sins, such as eating blood or sacrificial fat, eating on the Day of Atonement, having sexual relations with a near relative or with a woman during her menstrual period, eating an offering when one is unclean, profane slaughter of an animal, not keeping the passover, remaining in a state of uncleanness without cleansing oneself, consulting necromancers or wizards, or not circumcising one's son (Gen 17:14 is added by PC). A priest shall die if he drinks wine or strong drink before entering the sanctuary (Lev 10:9), lets his hair hang loose, or rends his garments as a sign of mourning (Lev 10:6). A Levite or a layman shall die if he comes near the vessels of the sanctuary or the altar (Nu 18:3).

If a man lies with his uncle's wife or marries his brother's wife, they will be childless (Lev 20:20,21). These sins shall all be punished by God, for they are purely religious transgressions. Only those who commit the heaviest crimes shall be subject to death at the hands of men. Those who commit a murder (Nu 35:16-21), practice witchcraft as mediums or as wizards (Lev 20:27), or desecrate the Sabbath, shall be stoned by the whole congregation (Nu 15:32-36). He who sacrifices any of his children to Molech shall also be stoned. If, however, the people of the land hide their eyes from the sinner, God will cut him off from his people (Lev 20:3-5). Child sacrifice must have been a popular kind of worship in the days of Manasseh and Amon, and during the first years of the reign of King Josiah (2 Ki 21:6,20), especially in the Valley of the sons of Hinom (23:10). King Josiah defiled this valley, but after his death the inhuman worship was taken up again (Jer 19; 32:35).

According to Lev 20, the following family or sex crimes were punishable by death: cursing one's father or mother, committing adultery, cohabiting with the wife of one's father or his daughter-in-law, the carnal copulation of two males, and sodomy. There were two sexual crimes whose punishment was death by fire: mar-

rying both a woman and her mother (Lev 20:14) and the case of the daughter of a priest playing the harlot (Lev 21:9).

This penal code raises many questions: Why did not PC deal with the case of rebellion against the ruler or the high priest? Was PC written in cognizance of the older codes? If so, why did it deviate so much from them? Why was the desecration of the Sabbath considered such a deadly sin, equal to murder and adultery?

It is true that the Priestly Code contained no law which explicitly forbade rebellion against a ruler or a high priest. But the story of Korah's revolt implies that such a rebellion against the leading ruler (Moses) and against the leading priest (Aaron) was so serious a crime that not only were Korah and his company immediately destroyed by an earthquake and storm accompanied by lightning, but all the Israelites suffered terrible losses through a plague that killed 14,700 persons. This plague was inflicted because the people loudly criticized Moses and Aaron for being too harsh with the rebels (Nu 17:6-15, Hebrew text).

PC's omission from its penal code of crimes as serious as the worship of foreign gods, or the incitement of others to do so, rebellion against the highest judicial or priestly authority, a son's rebelliousness against his parents, or a daughter's whoring, is proof certain that PC was never independent, but rather, from its very origin, intended to supplement the older Covenant and Deuteronomistic Codes. PC never treats of cases that are provided for in the older codes unless it has something of importance to add. Consider the crime of murder, which is dealt with in Deuteronomy 19 and Numbers 35. The latter introduces many new details which are missing from Deuteronomy 19: The people shall rescue the manslayer from the hands of the blood-avenger, and return him to the city of refuge, where he shall reside until the death of the anointed high priest. Only after this event may the manslayer, now immune from punishment, return to his possessions. It is forbidden to accept a ransom that would permit the manslayer to leave the city of refuge before the death of the anointed high priest. And, of course, the murderer, who is subject to the death penalty, may not be ransomed. All these various provisos are in the spirit of Hilki'ah's reform and are absent from the much older Deuteronomistic Code.

True, the old formula of retaliation is present in all three codes.

But in each code the formula applies to a different situation. In Exodus 21:23-25, it is applied to casualties resulting from strife; in Deuteronomy 19:21, to false witnesses, who are to be treated as they would have treated their fellow men; and in Leviticus 24:19, to the man who causes bodily damage, who is to be repaid in kind. Even the blessings and curses concluding both the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes differ, in content as well as in language: Deuteronomy promises prosperity for both rural and urban areas, PC security, abundance, a large population, and divine protection.

There is no doubt that the author of the Priestly Code regarded the institution of the Sabbath as the cornerstone of Yahweh's religion. Before Moses descends from Mount Sinai God, enjoins the strict observance of the Sabbath, which is declared to be a holy day, a sign between Yahweh and his people; anyone who performs work of any sort on the Sabbath shall be cut off from his people and be put to death (Ex 31:12-17).¹ When Moses descended from Sinai for the second time, his first act was to assemble all the representatives of the people and to warn them that "whoever works on the seventh day shall be put to death" (Ex 35:1-3). Even before the incident of the rebellion of Korah and his company, we read of the incident of the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath day, and was put into custody. God revealed to Moses that his man's punishment must be to be stoned by the whole multitude. This punishment was carried out (Nu 15:32-36). In this dramatic fashion the holiness and significance of the Sabbath was impressed on the people. There is no reason to assume that these three warning passages dealing with the Sabbath originated in different sources or strata. They form a unity, and were, I think, all written by Hilkiah.

Some scholars have assumed that the central significance of the Sabbath can only be explained if one thinks of the Sabbath as a kind of later substitute for the lost temple; it would follow from this assumption that the Sabbath's significance can be dated only from the exile. However, this theory is untenable. Ezekiel 20 reports a serious conversation between the prophet and the Babylonian elders concerning the causes for the catastrophe that had be-

1. The second and severer penalty was added after the first had proved ineffective. The same was true of the sex taboos. In Leviticus 18:29, the penalty for all sex crimes was for the criminal to be cut off from his people. In Leviticus 20, the more serious crimes were punishable by death.

fallen the people of Israel. This conversation took place in the seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin—that is, in 591 B.C.E. Ezekiel is reported as reminding the elders of the abominations committed by their fathers (Ez 20:4).

I led them out of the land of Egypt and brought them into the wilderness. I gave them my statutes and showed them my ordinances, by whose observance man shall live. Moreover, I gave them my Sabbaths, as a sign between me and them, that they might know that I, Yahweh, sanctify them. But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness; they did not walk in my statutes but rejected my ordinances, by whose observance man shall live; and my Sabbaths they greatly profaned (Ez 20:10-13).

It is clear from this passage that Ezekiel believed the Sabbath to be an ancient institution. Both his language and his thought in these verses are the same as those in PC. The inevitable deduction is that as a priest Ezekiel was familiar with the priestly code, which was already in existence in his youth, and in which he had read the three sections dealing with the Sabbath mentioned above. From the priestly code Ezekiel learned that the Sabbath is a sign between God and his people, and that the people had begun to profane the Sabbath in the wilderness. In any event, the passage proves that the Sabbath was an ancient, pre-exilic institution which was of great importance for the religion of Yahweh.

The Book of Jeremiah contains a warning to the king and people of Israel to cease their desecration of the Sabbath, with the assurance that if they do so, the city of Jerusalem would be inhabited forever; if not, Jerusalem and its palaces would go up in flames (Jer 17:19-27). Verse 26 is certainly not Jeremian, but an addition by a Jew who believed in the divine origin of the sacrificial cult and expected the restoration of the land and the temple. This verse may have been written during the time of Haggai and Zechariah. But the rest of the sermon must be from an earlier date, from the time of King Zedekiah, like chapters 19, 20, 21; for it prophesies the destruction of Jerusalem, if Israel continues in its wicked ways. After the destruction, the prophets tried to comfort and encourage the afflicted people, but they did not prophesy the destruction. The sermon must have been one of a series of similar

sermons which Jeremiah delivered at the gates of Jerusalem (e.g. Jer 22:1-5). In Jeremiah 22:1-5, the prophet preached on justice and humaneness, and in Jeremiah 17:19-27, on the sanctification of the weekly Sabbath. Although Jeremiah believed that the sacrificial cult was not part of the divine revelation to Moses in the days of the Covenant, and that the Priestly Code which assumed it was a fraud, he thought that the Ten Commandments, including the sanctification of the Sabbath, were part of the revelation. To the prophets the Sabbath represented not a ritual, but a social and religious institution of great significance. The prophet explicitly said: "Keep the Sabbath day holy, as I commanded your fathers" (Jer 17:22). That is a clear reference to the fourth commandment.

Why was the weekly Sabbath such an important institution, and when did this institution originate?

The oldest record of a weekly Sabbath is found in the Covenant Code. The present text reads: "Six days you shall do your work, but on the seventh day you shall rest" (Ex 23:12a). This text may stem from the time of Samuel (see p. 166). The Ritual Covenant in Exodus 34 says also: "Six days you shall work, but on the seventh day you shall rest." This statement originated with the priestly revisor of the Yahwist nucleus who wrote in the Davidic age (see pp. 149 ff.). It is noteworthy that Exodus 34 calls the feast of firstfruits, "Feast of Weeks," a name still unknown to Exodus 23. The concept of *shavuah* (week) must therefore be older than the Davidic age. We find this term as early as the stories of Jacob, which may belong to the Yahwist narrator of the same age (Gen 29:27, 28). Exodus 23 and Exodus 34 do not yet employ the term "Sabbath," but call the day "the seventh day." In the original succinct text of the Ten Commandments, the text ran: "Six days you shall work and on the seventh day you shall not do any work." The words, "it is a Sabbath to Yahweh, your God," must have been added in the first northern edition of Deuteronomy, which was written in the days of the prophet Elisha, in the middle of the ninth century (see pp. 73-113). Apparently in the prophetic circles of the north, this day was called "Sabbath to Yahweh." The same term is used in the story of the manna. There we read: "Eat it today, for today is 'Sabbath to Yahweh'" (Ex 16:25). This section (Ex 16:22-26) belongs to the priestly narrator, the southern Elohist, who probably wrote in the middle of the ninth century

during the days of Jehoiada. The author is inclined to identify the priestly narrator with the priest-regent Jehoiada himself (see pp. 134, 135). Later writers called the seventh day the day of Sabbath, or the Sabbath, or Sabbath. From 2 Kings 11:5-9, a record referring to the priest-regent Jehoiada, we learn that the king's palace guard and the temple guard came off duty on the Sabbath.

Why was the seventh day called "the Sabbath to Yahweh"? The most plausible answer to this question may be that there were two Sabbaths, one the monthly Sabbath, the other the weekly Sabbath to Yahweh. The monthly Sabbath was a pagan institution, originally part of moon-worship. Two dates, that of the new moon as well as that of the full moon, were originally particularly holy to the moon-god. They were days of bad omen: on these days people did not start a trip, do business or cure the sick. Instead, they brought special offerings to the moon-god to placate the offended deity. This must have been a very old Hebrew custom which did not lose its popularity even after the religion of Yahweh had been introduced by Moses.

These two days of bad omen were called in Hebrew *chodesh veshabbat*, new moon and full moon. Since on these days people did not work, they had time to see the prophet and to consult him (2 Ki 4:23). They did no business (Amos 8:5). They brought special offerings to the temple (Is 1:13). The kings, the prophets, and the priests who were loyal worshipers of Yahweh fought this custom as a pagan vestige and favored as its replacement the weekly Sabbath, probably introduced by Samuel in the days of the Philistine invasion to secure the survival of the religion of Yahweh. The kings of Judah, however, who were inclined to make concessions to the pagan worship, like Rehoboam, Abijam, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Manasseh, Amon, Jehoiakim, and Zedekiah, cannot be supposed to have favored or encouraged the weekly Sabbath of Yahweh. Under their reign, the popular new moon and Sabbath rites, the pagan vestiges, may have been practised. The kings of Judah who were loyal to the uncompromising religion of Yahweh, like David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, may have favored and even fought for the weekly Sabbath of Yahweh. The sharper the division within Judah between worshipers of Yahweh and paganizers, the more bitter the struggle, for the weekly Sabbath became the distinctive mark of the true worship of Yahweh. This movement

must have had its climax under the long reign of King Manasseh, when there was a strong underground Yahwist party. No wonder that Hilkiah and Ezekiel, who were brought up under Manasseh, repeatedly stressed the great significance of the practice of the weekly Sabbath to Yahweh.

The present author's new approach to Pentateuchal research allows him to reconstruct the growth of the idea and institution of the Yahwist weekly Sabbath. The picture of the growth which he has examined more closely in *The Reconstructionist* of January 23, 1953, "Our Sabbath: Origin and Significance," may be sketched in brief:

The prophet-judge Samuel, confronted with the Philistine invasion, a threat to the survival of Israel and the religion of Yahweh, de-paganized the institution of the Sabbath by establishing the seventh day as a rest day independent of the moon and unconnected with the moon-worship.

The humane Yahwist master-narrator, the prophet-statesman Nathan, when listing the Ten Commandments of Moses, the fundamental laws of Israel's religion and ethics, included the weekly seventh day of rest. In his annotation to the Covenant Code, he stressed the social-humane significance of this institution. It should be a day of rest for the working beast, for the slave, and for the stranger (Ex 23:12).

In the early-deuteronomic edition of the Ten Commandments the prophet-statesman Elisha declared the weekly seventh day to be a "Sabbath to Yahweh", giving it a familial and social character, as a day of rest for all members of the family, the slave, the beast, and the stranger (Dt 5:14).

The ninth-century priestly narrator, probably the priest-regent Jehoiada, who, like Elisha, fought against the invasion of the Phoenician Baal, restored the cosmic character of the Sabbath, but re-interpreted it monotheistically as a commemoration of the whole divine creation. This creation, he assumed, took six days, so that on the seventh day God could pause from his work, bless it and hallow it (Gen 2:1-3). The priest considered this interpretation of the Sabbath to be so important that he added it to the southern version of the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:11). He also assumed that a double portion of the manna in the wilderness fell on Fridays, and not on the cosmic Sabbath. God withheld the manna on the cosmic

Sabbath in order to dramatize the significance of the "Sabbath to Yahweh" (Ex 16:22-26). (See pp. 124, 125.)

The Hezekian (late-Deuteronomic) edition of the Pentateuch made two additions with regard to the Sabbath. First, it added the Elishan commentary on the Fourth Commandment to the southern version (Ex 20:10). Second, it appended to the manna story God's brief injunction to those who refused to keep God's commandments and laws. The Sabbath is said to be a special gift of Yahweh and should be strictly kept (Ex 16:28,29).

When Manasseh relapsed into the practices of paganism, the loyal Yahwists considered the weekly Sabbath to be a demonstration of their loyalty to Yahweh. When King Josiah struggled against the pagan recrudescence and restored uncompromising Yahwism, Hilkiyah declared the desecration of the Sabbath to be treason and a felony which must be punished most severely, i.e., by mass stoning. Hilkiyah knew that Moses had been most severe with those who committed serious crimes. Therefore, Hilkiyah recorded in the Priestly Code that the stoning of those who profaned the Sabbath was in full accord with the law of Moses, the divine law.

SOCIAL REFORM

Hilkiyah must have been a man of great stature. He was not only a priest but a statesman as well. He believed in a well-ordered cosmos and he wanted to create a society that was well-ordered in every respect—in cult and ritual, in justice and security, in morality and economics. To Hilkiyah all these conditions were interdependent; they could be fulfilled satisfactorily only when planned and applied jointly. The human order had to work hand in hand with the divine order. If every member of the community would be morally and religiously sensitive, supported by the omnipresent strength of a well-ordered ritual system, all manmade imperfections, like injustice, insecurity, and poverty, could be reduced or even eliminated.

Here is Hilkiyah's program:

If you walk in my statutes and observe my commandments and do them, then I will give you your rains in their season, and the land shall yield its increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit. And your threshing shall last to the time of vintage, and the

vintage shall last to the time of sowing; and you shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land securely. And I will give peace in the land, and you shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid; and I will remove evil beasts from the land, and the sword shall not go through your land. . . . And I will care for you and make you fruitful and multiply you, and will confirm my covenant with you. . . . And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people. I am Yahweh, your God, who brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that you should not be their slaves; and I have broken the bars of your yoke and made you walk erect (Lev 26:3-13).

God and man are partners in a sacred covenant. If man performs his part well by eliminating all manmade evils, he can reckon with God's performing his part, by strengthening man's insight, imagination, and will, so that he will succeed in all his enterprises—moral, religious, political, social and economic.

Hilkiah is realist enough to know that no people can be physically, morally, and religiously healthy as long as it is hungry, divided, warlike, and insecure. Everyone was to have his fill of bread and dwell in the land securely. The implication is a systematic fight against poverty and social injustice. The great social problem of Hilkiah's day was the fact that the people was split into two classes, the landowners on the one hand and the poor, debt-ridden peasants on the other. As early as the eighth century, socially minded prophets preached against this growing split. Said Isaiah: "Woe to those who join house to house, who add field to field, until there is no more room" (Is 5:8). Such was the situation in Jerusalem. It must have been worse in the country. Said the countryman-prophet Micah: "Woe . . . they covet fields and seize them; and houses, and take them away; they oppress a man and his house, a man and his inheritance" (Mi 2:2).

The debt-ridden peasants were forced by their exacting creditors to pay huge interest on their debts, and if they could not, they were sold as slaves. The religion of Yahweh was not only anti-pagan; it also favored protecting the socially inferior class against that of the mighty landowners, who favored syncretism, and compromised with the religious ideas of the powerful neighboring nations, the Syrians, Assyrians and Egyptians. This class conflict started with the beginning of the monarchy. The true prophets of Yahweh

emphasized God's sympathy for the suffering creatures, the poor, the slaves, the strangers, and the working beast. The prophet Nathan refers in his famous parable to "the rich man who had very many flocks and herds, and the poor man who had nothing but one little ewe lamb" (2 Sam 12:2, 3). This plea for the poor and oppressed people was taken up by Elijah in his warning to King Ahab and later by the literary prophets.

The narrators and legislators of the true anti-pagan Yahwism took the same approach. Yahweh first favors the weaker Abel against the robust peasant Cain, but later protects the guilt-obsessed fugitive Cain against the avengers of his brother. Yahweh hears the cry of the humiliated Hagar and helps her. Yahweh hearkens to the cries of the Israelites tortured by the Egyptian taskmasters. These are only a few of the many illustrations of that deep sentiment of humaneness whose first and strongest instance occurs in the work of the Yahwist master-narrator, whom the present writer identifies with the prophet Nathan.

The same time and presumably the same author may be responsible for the injunction: "If you lend money to the poor in your midst, you shall not be to him like a creditor, and you shall not exact interest from him" (Ex 22:24). We learn that David himself in his youth became the captain of those "who were in distress, or in debt or discontented" (1 Sam 22:2). The rift between the classes must have grown with the land's increase in prosperity, first under Solomon and later under the powerful and successful kings of the north and south. The change between the monotheistic and the paganizing kings of Judah may have paralleled a power conflict between the interests of the landowner and those of the poorer classes.

The long reign of Manasseh and his son Amon was a golden age for most of the big landowners. There was no prophet to storm against them. The Yahwist movement went underground. It may have been during this period that the young Hilkiah started to map out his grandiose social plan, the institution of the fiftieth year as the year of freedom, when all land sold during the previous forty-nine years should return to the original owners. This ingenious scheme, worked out to the last detail (Lev 25) is a blend of bold vision and concrete design. It is not a purely theoretical plan or a utopian daydream, but a program that is seriously meant—the climax in the construction of that true community based on the covenant

between Israel and Yahweh, which was the intent of the Mosaic legislation. The Exodus from Egypt was meant to demonstrate that the Israelites were the servants of Yahweh and not meant to be slaves to any human rulers.

Although many of the details and even the idea of the jubilee were the product of Hilkiyah's genius, he himself may have regarded his scheme as based completely on tradition; he was simply interpreting tradition in accordance with the needs of his time. Hence Hilkiyah incorporated his scheme, like the other portions of the Priestly Code, into the record of the Sinaitic revelation to Moses. The basic element in Hilkiyah's program is the seventh year of release. This institution is mentioned in the oldest Hebrew code, as transmitted to us in the Covenant Code. There we read: "For six years you shall sow your land and gather in its yield; but the seventh year you shall let it rest and lie fallow" (Ex 23:10, 11). This law precedes the one concerning the weekly day of rest. The two laws belong together and may have been instituted during the same historical period by the same authority. Like the institution of the weekly Sabbath, the annual Sabbath may also have been instituted as a defense of the religion of Yahweh during the critical days of the Philistine invasion when the prophet-statesman Samuel was reorganizing cult and law.

The practice of not sowing the land for a certain length of time may go back to the period of Israel's transition from a nomadic to an agricultural people. When the Hebrew nomads lingered in fertile oases, like Kadesh or Beer Sheba in the Negev, or in the valley of Gerar (Gen 26:17), they sowed and reaped the crops of the land (v. 12). Sometimes their crops failed. At such times they may have believed that their Deity had cursed the land because of some offence they had committed against Him. When this happened, the nomads continued their wanderings and returned to the worship of the god of the herds (El) instead of the god of the land (Baal or Adon). The god of the herds required bloody sacrifices, while the god of the land accepted the first fruits of the harvest (Gen 4:2-5). After some time, on reaching another fertile valley, the nomads may have tried to farm again. The result of this experience was an alternation of husbandry and stock-breeding, or a mixed economy.

The Yahwist movement under the leadership of Samuel must

have altered the usual practice. Instead of alternating the worship of the god of the herds with that of the god of the land, Samuel taught the people to worship only Yahweh, the god of both herds and land. The land should be sown for six years, then it should be allowed to rest and lie fallow for one year. This innovation would prevent the Hebrews from fully giving up their flocks and herds and totally shifting to agriculture. In this way, the nomadic spirit of the past would be combined with the agricultural needs of the new land, and the exclusive worship of Yahweh would be guaranteed. The people were to bring to Him both the first of their flocks and the first of their fruits.

If Exodus 34:17-26 is an excerpt from the last portion of the Covenant Code, it is surprising that the Sabbatical year is not mentioned, as is the weekly day of rest. But as a matter of fact, it was originally mentioned; our present text is defective because of the omission of one word. In Exodus 34:21, our text now reads: "Six days you shall work, but on the seventh day you shall rest; in plowing and in harvest you shall rest." The second part is not clear and has led scholars to all manner of vain speculation. The text should read: "And in the seventh (year), in plowing and harvest you shall rest." The Hebrew word "*ubashviith*" was omitted because it is preceded by a similar phrase *ubayom hashvii* ("and on the seventh day").

There is still another old formulation of this law: "At the end of every seven years you shall grant a release" (Dt 15:1). The early-Deuteronomic edition, the mid-ninth century Elishan edition of the Northern Kingdom (see pp. 144-149), explains this ancient formula in Deuteronomy 15:2-4: "Every creditor shall release what he has lent to his neighbor; he shall not exact it of his countryman, because the release of Yahweh has been proclaimed. Of a foreigner you may exact it; but whatever of yours is with your brother, your hand shall release, so that there will be no poor."

We misunderstand the text if we assume that the lawgiver recognizes only a release of debts, but not a release of land. The commercial development during the period from Solomon's reign to that of the powerful kings Omri and Ahab made it necessary to enlarge the concept of release by including the release of debts. The late-Deuteronomic edition, the Hezekian edition of the eighth century, is less hopeful than that of the prosperous north. The

south was poorer, the population's need more critical, the landowners less generous. Therefore the warning: "Take heed lest there be a base thought in your heart, and you say, 'The seventh year, the year of release is near,' and your eye be hostile to your poor brother, and you give him nothing, and he cry to Yahweh against you, and you will commit a sin. Give him freely, your heart shall not be grudging when you give him; because for this Yahweh your God will bless you in all your work and in all that you undertake. For the poor will never cease out of your land" (v. 9-11).

From Isaiah and Micah we learn how large was the rift between the avaricious landowners and the needy, debt-ridden peasants. Hezekiah and his advisers were optimistic enough to believe that a moral appeal would reduce the great social inequalities, if it could not eliminate them. "I command you, Open your hand to your brother, to the needy and to the poor in the land" (v. 11).

Hilkiah passed his youth under the reign of King Manasseh, who attempted to assimilate the religion of Yahweh to that of his Assyrian masters. Of Manasseh the editor of the Books of Kings said:

He did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh, according to the abominable practices of the nations that Yahweh drove out before the people of Israel. For he rebuilt the high places which Hezekiah his father destroyed; and he erected altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as Ahab, king of Israel had done, and worshiped all the host of heaven, and served them. And he built altars in the house of Yahweh. And he burned his son as an offering, and practiced magic and augury, and consulted necromancers and wizards. . . . And the graven image of Ashera which he had made he set in the house of Yahweh. . . . Moreover Manasseh shed much innocent blood, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another (2 Ki 21:2-7, 16).

Reflecting on this catastrophic failure of the Hezekian reform, Hilkiah worked out his new scheme: a rich cult, stern justice, a well-ordered clergy, a comprehensive atonement ritual, severe measures against sexual irregularities and crime, and drastic land reform. As the basis for his new structure he took the old institution of the year of release, both release from debts and release of the land during every seventh year. The land, he reasons, needs a

Sabbatical rest, just as a man needs a Sabbath day of rest after a week's work. The Sabbath of the land will make the land more fertile so that "it will provide food for yourself, and for your male and female slaves and for your hired servants and the sojourner who lives with you; for your cattle also and for the beasts that are in your land" (Lev 25:6,7).

On this basis Hilkiah erected a mighty structure, patterned after the Feast of Weeks, which ended a cycle of seven weeks. In the same way the people were to count seven times seven years. In the beginning of the fiftieth year, on the newly established Day of Atonement, the ram's horn was to be heard throughout the land. A year of freedom, of holiness and jubilee was to be ushered in: there was to be no sowing, no harvest, exactly as in the years of release. Every man was to return to his property and to his family. They were to eat whatever grows in the field. The land is not like a commodity which can be sold for ever. The land is Yahweh's creation and gift. Each inhabitant was to have his share in the divine land. If a Jew becomes poor and has to sell himself into slavery, his brother must not treat him like a common slave. Creditors ought not to take interest. In the jubilee year all men must be free; all property that has been sold must be returned to the former owners. The price for the sale of land or of a slave shall decrease with the decrease in the number of years before the next jubilee year. The slave may be redeemed by himself or his next of kin to cut short the time of his slavery, for Israel should be a people of free men and not of slaves.

According to the older law, as recorded in the Covenant Code (Ex 21:2) and in the early-Deuteronomic (Elishan) code (Dt 15:12), the Hebrew slave had to be set free in the seventh year of his slavery, if he so desired. This individual seventh year must not be confused with the collective seventh year, the year of release of land and of debts. In the jubilee year, according to Hilkiah's scheme, all the three institutions should fuse: release of land, release of debts, and setting free of all slaves, in order to demonstrate that the Israelites are servants of Yahweh and not servants of men (Lev 25:54,55).

Did Hilkiah ever see the implementation of his scheme? The Sabbatical year of the Maccabean revolt fell in 164-163 B.C.E., according to Josephus. That is in agreement with the Talmud and

all rabbinic literature throughout the Middle Ages and down to the contemporary period, where it is accepted in Israel. The last Sabbatical year was 1951-1952 (see Zeitlin, *JBL*, June 1953). The Priestly Code, when published as a priestly answer to the newly discovered Deuteronomic Code in 621 B.C.E., could not have been issued earlier than 620 or later than 608, the date of King Josiah's tragic death. Josiah's sons, especially Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, continued the policy of Manasseh, steering a course contrary to that of Josiah. During the reign of Josiah, after the discovery of the book of the Torah, there were only two Sabbatical years, 619 and 612. His successors took no heed of the Sabbatical year. It was only in an hour of great calamity, when the Babylonians had begun to make war upon Jerusalem and the other cities, that Zedekiah and his princes, frightened by a sermon of Jeremiah, took the prophet's advice and made a solemn covenant between king and people. By the term of this covenant they promised to set free all the slaves whom they had not set free after six years of slavery, in a common release. They proclaimed a year of freedom, using the same term *dror* which Hilkiah had used for his jubilee year (Jer 34).

Hilkiah's scheme was intended to solve the social problems of his day. But he did not see its fulfilment himself, and the generation after him was not interested in the older laws of Sabbatical release of land, release of debts, and the setting free of slaves in the seventh year. They did not heed Yahweh's older laws, the Covenant Code and the Deuteronomic Code ascribed to Moses (Jer 34:13,14). No wonder, then, that they paid no heed to the Priestly Code, Hilkiah's latest interpretation of the Mosaic legislation. There remained, of course, groups of loyal worshipers of Yahweh who regarded all the three codes as sacred. It was from this group that the priests and laymen came who returned to Palestine under Zerubbabel and Joshua.

MORALITY AND RITUAL

Despite his keen interest in a punctiliously elaborate sacrificial cult, a well-articulated priesthood, and a boldly designed jubilee scheme, Hilkiah never forgot the significance of the moral factor in the religion of Yahweh. Even the priests of the Davidic era,

who had added the second, ritual covenant (Ex 34) to the first, ethical decalogue (Ex 20), had intended only to supplement, not to supplant the basic first decalogue. Since PC never claimed to be a new code, but rather a collection of old priestly rulings and traditions and a reinterpretation of the commandments given to Moses by the God of Israel, it is no wonder that the priestly law-book contains a section of preeminent importance that is a reinterpretation of the first decalogue. We are referring, of course, to chapter nineteen of Leviticus.

The chapter, as it reads now, is a composite of two kinds of legislation, the first being apodictic imperatives, the second casuistic laws. The second group deals with the acceptance of sacrificial offerings (Lev 19:5-8) and with five statutes: the forbidden mingling of elements that are naturally opposed in respect to breeds, seed and clothing material, sexual intercourse with a betrothed slave, and the eating of unripe fruit (Lev 19:19-25). The remaining twenty-six verses are a reinterpretation of the first decalogue, amplifying or qualifying all of the Ten Commandments—with only a passing reference to the seventh commandment, since the author deals with sexual problems in complete detail in chapters 18 and 20.

In order to emphasize the significance of chapter 19, the author repeats the burden, "I am Yahweh," and "I am Yahweh your God," eight times each. The chapter is addressed "to the whole congregation of the Israelites" (v. 2), a phrase that recurs only in Exodus 12:3 (Passover), 35:1 (Sabbath) and 35:4 (offering of gifts for the tabernacle).

This repetitive and solemn emphasis that it is Yahweh, the holy God of Israel, who is speaking, may be explained by the fact that it is the solemnly proclaimed Ten Commandments originally spoken and written by Yahweh himself that are being interpreted in this section. But there is good reason to believe that there is still another explanation for this emphasis—that this interpretation originated with a genuine prophet, a true mouthpiece of Yahweh.

From Jeremiah's protest against Hilkiah's belief in the divine and Mosaic origin of the sacrificial cult (Jer 7:22; 8:8, 10) we perceive that priest and prophet collaborated in writing this new code. From 2 Kings 22:14 we learn that when Hilkiah found the Book of the Covenant in the temple, he and other high dignitaries went to consult with the prophetess Huldah, who lived in the Second Quar-

ter of Jerusalem, about the authenticity of the prophecy dealing with the calamities which would befall Israel according to the book. They did not consult Jeremiah, because they knew his uncompromising anti-priestly attitude. But Huldah must have been more conciliatory and friendly to the priests. She may have been a cult prophetess; that is, she may have performed some function in the temple service—either as a communicant of the divine word, or as a preacher, or a spiritual guide in resolving difficult questions.

There are good reasons for assuming that chapter 19 is based on Huldah's interpretative sermon of the Ten Commandments, probably delivered at one of the great festivals when "the whole congregation of Israel" was assembled in the temple. There are some peculiarities in this sermon which indicate a feminine origin. It begins: "Each one of you shall revere [or fear] his mother and father." The traditional formula was "Honor [your] father and mother." Usually, wherever father and mother are mentioned, the father precedes the mother as the son precedes the daughter, and the man the wife. The traditional usage is in this verse altered; assuming that the speaker was a woman who knew from personal experience that children are likely to fear a father more than they do a mother, the unusual inversion becomes an amplification of the old law.

Another example of the feminine point of view occurs in verse 29: "Do not profane your daughter by making her a harlot, lest the land fall into harlotry and the land become full of intrigue." The Hebrew term *zimma* comes from *zaman* "to plot" (Dt 19:19). Here it means, as in Leviticus 20:14, "intrigue," "underhanded plotting." If a man marries both a woman and her mother, there will be no end to intrigue and secret plotting. Leviticus 21:9 presents the father's point of view: The daughter of a priest may not play the harlot, since that would be profaning her father. The mother's point of view is different: Harlotry is not only a disgrace for the father of the girl, but it is like a contagious disease, which if tolerated, would spread until the whole land would suffer from the cancer of intrigue and secret plotting.

It is more than doubtful that a male legislator like Hilkiyah would have coined such phrases as occur in verse 18 and 34: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself," and "You shall love him [the immigrant, the alien] like yourself." The traditional translation is not

fully correct. In Hebrew as in other languages the word "love" takes the accusative. Here the dative is used. A more correct translation would therefore be: "You shall be friendly to your fellow man." *Re'a* does not mean "neighbor," but "fellow man." The author of this phrase is not only highly sensitive to the nuances of human relations, but also of extraordinary sympathetic understanding. None of these traits fit the character of Hilki'ah or any other male priest who may have written the PC. But it is in complete agreement with the character of the prophetess Huldah, illuminated by her answer to Hilki'ah and the other dignitaries who consulted her in the name of the king:

Because your heart was penitent and you humbled yourself before Yahweh, when you heard how I spoke against this place and against its inhabitants that they should become a desolation and a curse; and because you have rent your clothes and wept before me, I also have heard you, says Yahweh. Therefore, behold, I will gather you to your fathers, and you shall be gathered to your grave in peace, and your eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place (2 Ki 22:19,20).

The individual expects God to do what he thinks he himself would do if he were God. In the passage quoted above, Huldah indicates her own deep understanding of human beings and her compassion for them. She knows that a God who is holy cannot allow the people to continue in the wicked way of Manasseh. But the same holy God will never punish Israel under a humble and loyal king like Josiah. The catastrophe can come only during the reign of more wicked kings. Rather than envision the possible end in its gloomiest colors, she encourages the king and frees him from the torment of fear and anxiety.

Only a woman who was as profoundly maternal and imaginative as Huldah could have enjoined: "The wages of a hired servant shall not remain with you all night until morning. You shall not curse the deaf or put a stumbling block before the blind, but you shall fear your God." Huldah must have seen boys playing tricks on handicapped people—hence the condemnation. Again, "You shall not go up and down as a tell-tale gossip among your people, and you shall not stand unconcerned if your fellow man bleeds to

death." These are not clichés, taken from former laws, but original observations of a highly humane, sensitive and maternal woman.

Huldah's attitude toward sin and evil-doing is essentially different from that of Hilki'ah. To Hilki'ah an evil act is a disturbance of the cosmic or moral order. It must be rectified by atonement, sacrifice, restoration, or expiation. If a man has had sexual intercourse with an unmarried slave, he may bring a sin offering and the sin will be forgiven him (Lev 19:20-22). But, according to Huldah, the evil act springs from an evil heart. No expiation, compensatory act, or punishment can undo an evil act; the only recourse is to bring the sinner to a change of heart. Man will do good if he does not hate in his heart (v. 17). If a man be offended by another's behavior, the offended one ought not to bear a grudge or retaliate, but have a heart-to-heart talk with the offender whom he may be able to bring to a change of heart (17, 18). The sermon enjoins and advises, but it does not treat of punishment. Compare this with Hilki'ah's chapter 20, which deals with sexual sins and crimes: every injunction is accompanied by a threat of punishment. Even chapter 18, which enumerates all cases of incest and sexual sins, concludes with the injunction: "Whoever shall do any of these abominations shall be cut off from his people." The sermon of chapter 19 contains no threats, but only suggestion and encouragement. The prophetess begins: "Be holy, for I, Yahweh, your God am holy." Being holy means being pure, kind, righteous, immaculate. Holiness is not action, but the essence of personality, heart, or soul. And the sermon concludes with the words: "You shall observe all my ritual and all my legal laws and do them: I am Yahweh." Huldah herself may have referred only to "my legal laws" (*mishpotay*). The term "my ritual laws" (*chuqqay*) was added by the editor, who also added verses 5-8, 19-25. For the second group of laws explicitly begins: "You shall keep my ritual laws" (*chuqqay*), (v. 19).

It is very doubtful whether verses 26-28 and 31 are part of the prophetess's sermon. They deal with magic and pagan practices and are out of the context of human relations. If they were part of the original sermon, they would have followed verse 4. Verse 26 begins, "You shall not eat," which seems to be a sequel to verses 23-25, which also deal with forbidden food. Verse 31, forbidding the consultation of magicians of any sort, continues verse 26b,

which deals with the same subject. Verses 27, 28 (bodily cuttings) are connected with verse 26, which also treats of blood. Verses 5-8 were added to verse 4, because both passages deal with worship.

Apparently Hilkiah used the prophetess' sermon as the basis of this solemn assembly record. There were a few unrecorded laws which were very important to Hilkiah. These he inserted wherever he could find some association in the text. Thus verses 19-22 deal with illicit copulation. They were added as a supplement of verse 29 ("whoring daughter"). Verse 23 terms unripe fruit "uncircumcised," connecting it with intercourse with an unmarried slave (v. 20-22); this too is picking a fruit before its time.

Analysis of chapter 19 illuminates Hilkiah's attitude toward morality and ritual. To Hilkiah they are interdependent, as they were to the first Yahwist priests in Jerusalem, who held that the people of Israel required a ritual covenant, the history of their backsliding into idolatry having proved that the ethical decalogue was insufficient. The era of Manasseh had made clear that the pagan influences were too strong. Israel needed a comprehensive system of legal, moral, and ritual laws to keep them from forgetting their commitments to Yahweh. For this reason they were to wear tassels on every corner of their garments and a string of blue on each tassel. "And it shall be to you a tassel to look upon and remember all the commandments of Yahweh to do them, not to follow after your own heart and your own eyes, which you are inclined to go after wantonly. So you shall remember and do all my commandments and be holy to your God" (Nu 15:39, 40).

Yahweh is holy and awe-inspiring. When Moses (and Aaron) heard the people crying rebellious words, they fell down on their faces (Nu 14:5; 16:4, 22; 17:10; 20:6). Yahweh hates every form of outer and inner uncleanness, the shedding of innocent blood, incest, and all unnatural, unreasonable, inhuman, magical, or idolatrous practices. He gave Israel moral and ritual laws, a legal code, and a sacrificial cult, a sanctuary and Sabbaths and festivals, all of which were unique, differing from the Egyptian and Canaanite tradition and from that of any non-Hebrew nation (Lev 18:2-5). "Keep my legal laws and observe my ritual laws, I am Yahweh, your God" (v. 4). These are laws "by keeping which a man shall live" (v. 5), in that they negate the destruction of life, the worship of death, the biological and moral decay of individuals and nations.

They are affirmations of life, of human community, and of spiritual vitality. Fulfilling these laws is a guarantee of prosperity, security, health, dignity, freedom, and divine assistance (Lev. 26:3-13).

The emphasis is on *my*: "*My* legal laws," "*my* ritual laws," "*my* Sabbaths," "*my* festivals," "*my* sanctuary." Hilkiah is fully aware of the great difference between the Jewish law, cult, and religion, on the one hand, and the law, cult, and religion of the other nations, on the other. He is combatting syncretism, religious assimilation. At no period in Israel's history was the opposition to syncretism more justified than after the long reign of Manasseh. In the Persian period, no royal or priestly ruler attempted to impose a syncretistic cult on the Jews. Ezra and Nehemiah warred against mixed marriages. PC never mentions this subject. According to PC, there is one law for the alien and for the native Jew (Lev 24:22). The alien shall be treated like a friend (Lev 19:34). Consequently, PC cannot stem from the Persian period, as so many scholars still believe.

STRATIFICATION

Our analysis of Leviticus 19 has shown that Hilkiah elaborated on material composed by others. He must have done the same thing in many other instances. This would explain why Exodus 35-39 covers the same ground as Exodus 25-31—the building of the tabernacle and the making of the priestly garments; it may have been added by another hand. In Numbers 4:3, the Levites begin their tabernacle service at the age of thirty; Numbers 8:24 amends the age to twenty-five. Since the distinction between Aaronites and Levites was introduced by Hilkiah, we must assume that originally, after it had been practiced in Jerusalem, the regulation proved insufficient, since the service in the temple was more exacting than expected. So Hilkiah himself may have lengthened the service by an additional five years. Or else, we must assume that a later priestly authority amended the service period. Since there was only a relatively small number of Levites in the community of Jerusalem after they returned from Babylonia, later priestly authorities must have extended the service by an additional five years. The Chronicler mentions the service beginning with the twentieth year (1 Chr 23:24, 27). This regulation may have been promulgated by the high priest Joshua during the days of Zerubbabel or by Ezra (Ezra

3:8). PC mentions only that military service began at twenty, not temple service (Nu 1:3).

There must have been other duplications or amendments. In Numbers 27 we read of the wish of the daughters of Zelophehad to be recognized as heirs together with the brothers of their deceased father. A law that satisfied their wishes was revealed to Moses. Numbers 36 amends the law, compelling the daughters of Zelophehad to marry within their tribe, so that their property may remain in their father's tribe even during the jubilee year. It is to be assumed that the story in Numbers 27 was an older record, and the amendment of Numbers 36 an addition by Hilkiyah in the context of jubilee legislation. So Numbers 31:21-24 may have been added later to Numbers 19:1-22 (the red heifer) by Hilkiyah himself.

PC lists two festival calendars, in Leviticus 23, and Numbers 28 and 29. The festivals are the same and fall at the same fixed times. Numbers 28 and 29 presents a sacrificial calendar, indicating the specific sacrifices prescribed for each festival. Leviticus 23 describes the ritual of those festivals which had not been mentioned, or had only briefly been mentioned, in the former codes—like the first sheaf and first fruit offerings, the Day of Atonement's fast and resting, and the ritual of the Feast of Booths. The Passover and Mazzoth festival is dealt with briefly, because it is treated in detail in Exodus 12 and Numbers 9:1-14.

Leviticus 23 is not as unified as Numbers 28 and 29, having been elaborated on after the original version. It mentions sacrifices only in such general terms as, "You shall present an offering by fire to Yahweh" (v. 8, 25, 27, 36). It is only in the lengthy section dealing with the two cereal offerings, the first sheaf of the (barley) harvest and the firstfruits of the (wheat) harvest, that the text specifies the offerings (in verses 12 and 13, burnt offering and cereal offering for the day of the first sheaf, and in verses 18 and 19, burnt offering and cereal offering, fifty days later). These four verses (and the words "them with," and the words "with the lambs" in verse 20) are interpolated. Since the interpolated offerings differ from those indicated in Numbers 28, they cannot have been interpolated by the author of Numbers 28. Leviticus prescribes one bullock, two rams, and seven lambs as a burnt offering, a male goat as a sin offering, and two lambs as a peace offering for the Feast of the Firstfruits. Numbers 28, however, prescribes two bullocks, one ram,

and seven lambs, and one male goat for the same festival. The same offerings are prescribed for the new moon and for each of the seven days of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. On the first of the seventh month, and on the Day of Atonement, only one bullock is to be offered, because both days require special offerings. For the seven days of the Feast of Booths, a total of seventy bullocks are prescribed, as well as fourteen lambs and two rams daily. For the closing eighth day, one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs are prescribed; one male goat is prescribed for each of the eight days.

Numbers 28 and 29 is apparently the harmonious structure of a grandiose sacrificial scheme, which was based on the fact that the Feast of Booths was the center of obscene heathen fertility rites during the time of Manasseh. A sacrificial Yahwist cult on a big scale was required to counteract these rites. Like the jubilee scheme, this sacrificial cult may have been Hilkiah's idea. Leviticus 23 gives the number of victims actually offered, before Hilkiah's scheme was put into practice. We do not know whether the larger scheme ever was enacted before King Jehoiakim invalidated the Priestly Code. The interpolation in Leviticus 23 must therefore be older than Hilkiah's reform. It probably represents the Jerusalemite practice of the kings loyal to Yahweh, at least the practice during the days of King Josiah, before Hilkiah's reform. There is no reason to assume that PC contains the cult practices of other Israelitic sanctuaries, as Ezekiel Kaufmann assumes. PC is no archaeological collection, but the handbook of the Jerusalemite priests completed by the first high priest Hilkiah.

The oldest nucleus of Leviticus 23 consists of the following verses: 10ac, b, 11a, 14aa, ac, 15, 16, 17b, 20aa. This nucleus presupposes the existence of a Feast of Weeks falling exactly seven weeks after the feast of the first (barley) harvest. The name Feast of Weeks is first documented in Exodus 34:22, but was still unknown to Exodus 23:16. That brings us to the days of the early monarchy. When the first temple in Jerusalem was erected, the leading priest, Zadok, must have promulgated more precise regulations for the new cultic institution. This nucleus presumably belonged to the first of his regulations.

In verse 15b ("seven full Sabbaths") and in 16a ("to the morrow after the seventh Sabbath") Sabbath means "week," not "Sabbath day," for seven full Sabbath days makes no sense. In verses 11 and

15a, the term "from the morrow after the Sabbath" cannot mean "after the week," but must mean "after the feast." In verse 11a, the priest was to wave the sheaf before Yahweh on the day of the first harvest. In verse 11b, however, the priest was to wave the sheaf the day after the Sabbath or feast. It would appear that originally the priest waved the first sheaf on the feast; later he waved it on the day after the feast. That means that verse 11b, and consequently the term "the day after the feast" in verse 15, were later interpolations, which, omitted, leave the text fully comprehensible. In Deuteronomy 16:9 we read: "Begin to count the seven weeks from the time you first put the sickle to the standing grain." This verse belongs to the early, Elishan edition (see pp. 75, 76). Since the Hezekian edition has not altered the verse, it seems to us that Hilkiah made the change from the feast day to the day after the feast. The reason was that the priests in Jerusalem were so busy with the rich festival offerings that they had no time to wave all of the first sheaves. Hilkiah took the term "on the day after the Sabbath" from verse 16a and used it to mean "after the feast," adding verse 11b and the term in verse 15. To him Sabbath meant a day of rest, a festival, not a week, as it did in the nucleus material of Leviticus 23. All explanations which assume that Sabbath here means full moon are beside the mark.

There is another old text which may stem from the same period as the nucleus of Leviticus 23. We are referring to the priestly benediction in Numbers 6:24-26. This graceful, luminous, and peaceful prayer stems from the early formative period of the high spirituality and humaneness of the religion of Israel. Its stress of enlightenment and peace reminds us of the humane and peaceful Yahwist master narrator during the days of Nathan and Solomon. The prayer has no mention of war or bloody sacrifices. The best guess is that it was composed by Nathan's friend, the priest Zadok, at the time when the temple was consecrated during Solomon's reign. Or it may have been composed by the king himself in his function of the highest priest of the nation.

The humane prescriptions forbidding the sacrifice of a victim before it is eight days old, so that it may remain a complete week with its mother, and those forbidding the slaughter of the mother and her young in the same day (Lev 22:27,28), may also go back to the Davidic period, as Exodus 22:29 indicates. The third prescrip-

tion, that a thanksgiving sacrifice is to be eaten on the same day and nothing be left until morning (Lev 22:29.30), may also belong to the early stratum. Exodus 34:25 mentions a similar prescription for the Passover victim. Exodus 34:25 applies it to the fat of a feast offering. Apparently later, with the increase in the number of offered victims, the tradition relaxed. Leviticus 7:15 still insists that the flesh of the sacrifice of a thanksgiving peace offering be eaten on the day of the offering, but if the offering is a votive offering or a freewill offering, it may be eaten over two days (v. 16). If eaten on the third day, the sacrifice will not be accepted and not be credited to the offerer. It is an abomination and he must bear his sin (v. 17, 18). Leviticus 19:5-8, however, allows the flesh of a peace offering to be eaten the first or the second day, but on the third day it is an abomination and he who eats it shall be cut off from his people. This was probably the latest decision on this controversial problem, presumably made by Hilkiah, as the severe punishment would indicate. Because of its importance, his decision was included in the prophetic sermon of chapter 19 preached to the whole multitude. Only the priesthood of Jerusalem vacillated in the practice, not the priests of other sanctuaries. This also proves that the so-called Holiness Code (Lev 16-26) is in effect the latest, not the earliest stratum of PC. Leviticus 11-15, which deals with the uncleanness of animals, persons, and objects, is an elaboration of older traditions, as Deuteronomy 14 (unclean animals) and Deuteronomy 24:8 (priestly regulations concerning leprosy) indicate.

The system of sin offerings and guilt offerings was probably created by Hilkiah. In former times people had made burnt offerings or peace offerings if they had sinned or if they desired divine assistance. The new system developed by stages and had to be adjusted to the varying demands of reality. Some offerers could not afford an expensive victim, others not even a lamb or a bird. Hence some regulations had to be amended. Leviticus 4 and 5 give us the first original regulations. The high priest was required to offer a bullock as sin offering; the same was true of a community. Princes had to offer a he-goat and common people a she-goat or a she-lamb. In certain instances even laymen had to offer a ram (Lev 5:17ff.). This was called a guilt offering. Poorer people brought offerings of birds or cereals. Numbers 15 presents an amendment: If the community has sinned unwittingly, it is to offer a bullock

as a burnt offering and a he-goat as a sin offering (v. 22-28). The whole system of sin offerings and guilt offerings was not fully worked out. Perhaps time was short and the death of Josiah came too early. We are left with an incomplete fragment.

The contrary regulations in the various sections of PC are due to different causes. In most cases the regulations in question are from different periods. New situations often required a modification of such older regulations as the number and kind of the festival victims or at what age the Levitical service was to begin. This explanation, however, does not apply in every case. Apparently Leviticus 1-3 were old priestly injunctions. The text was elaborated by the Hilkian edition or by an earlier priestly authority, like the priest-regent Jehoiada in the ninth century, or by Zadok, the first leading priest of the temple of Solomon. Chapters 1-3 in Leviticus and chapters 12-15, even in their re-edited form, must go back to old priestly injunctions which were transmitted orally from one priestly generation to another. The priests are not yet called the sons of Aaron, but "the priest." Thus Leviticus 1:2ab-9 deals with the burnt offering. The priest is the subject of the nucleus. The verb is singular. But within the text we find the Aaronite priests as a plural subject with a plural verb. Omit these clauses, and the text remains intelligible. That is proof that the old standard text was enlarged in the course of time. The reference to the tabernacle (v. 3) may also have been a later addition, as was the statement that God spoke to Moses. Omit all these later accretions, and the nuclear text reads as follows:

When any of you brings an offering to Yahweh, he shall bring his offering of cattle from the herd or from the flock. If his offering is a burnt offering from the herd, he shall offer a male without blemish. Then he shall kill the bull before Yahweh. He shall flay the burnt offering and cut it into pieces. Its entrails and its legs he shall wash with water. And the priest shall burn the whole on the altar as a burnt offering, a pleasing odor to Yahweh.

This reads well and makes sense. We have omitted verses 1, 2aa, 3b, 4, 5b, 7, 8.

In the second section, which deals with the burnt offering from the flock, we need omit only verse 11b, as well as the word "priest"

in verse 12 perhaps (originally all the preparations were made by the worshiper, and the priest merely laid the victim on the altar over the fire). In the third section (v. 14-17), which deals with the burnt offering of birds, only the word "priest" in verse 15 need be omitted. In chapter 2, which deals with cereal offering, we may proceed in the same way, leaving verses 4-9, 14-16 unaltered. Verses 11-13, also unaltered, give some general rules. Verse 11 reads: "No cereal offering which you bring to Yahweh, shall be made with leaven; for you shall burn no leaven nor any honey as an offering by fire to Yahweh." Verse 12: "As an offering of first fruits you may bring them to Yahweh, but they shall not be offered on the altar for a pleasing odor." Verse 13a: "You shall season all your cereal offerings with salt."

The ruling dealing with leaven must be very old. As early as the Covenant Code (Ex 23:18, and repeated in Ex 34:25) we read the injunction: "You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread." This did not include the first fruit offering, which was to consist of two loaves of bread, made of fine flour and baked with leaven (Lev 23:17). So we have here a continuous tradition going back to the days of Samuel and the priests of Shiloh. In Leviticus 7:12 we find the prescription that if a person offered a sacrifice for a thanksgiving, he was to accompany the thank offering with unleavened cakes and unleavened wafers. Then follows the mysterious sentence: "Together with the sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving he shall bring an offering of cakes of leavened bread" (v. 13). That would run counter to the old tradition and does not make much sense. Probably the text has been corrupted and originally read, "he shall *not* bring"—the "*not*" having been erroneously omitted by a later copyist. That makes sense and is in harmony with all the other passages on this subject.¹

The prohibition of offering the blood of a sacrifice along with leavened bread must be older than the Covenant Code and its presumably first edition under Samuel. In the small town of Ophra in Benjamin (Jos 18:23) there was an old altar of Yahweh, which had been set up by Gideon. It was called Yahweh Shalom (the Peacemaker). Yahweh (later version, an angel) appeared to Gideon

1. Amos 4:5: "offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened" is satirical. The people wanted to outdo the law. An unleavened gift did not seem to them good enough to appease the deity.

there and encouraged him to save Israel from the Midianites. Then Gideon made an offering to the divine being. He put the meat and the unleavened cakes on the rock and poured the broth over them (Ju 6:20). The informality and peculiarity of this offering speaks for the authenticity of this record. The first recorder of our narrative may have written it during the days of David and Solomon, the golden age of Israel's early literature. He must have heard the story directly or indirectly from the priest of Ophra, who had it from his predecessors. It is not probable that Gideon had innovated this kind of offering. Consequently, it must have been an old custom not to accompany a bloody sacrifice with leavened bread. Now we know from Exodus 12:8 that the flesh of the Passover lamb was to be roasted and eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. Exodus 12:3b-13 is an old priestly teaching dealing with the Passover ritual, stemming from a time in which that ritual had not yet been combined with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, as it was in the late-Deuteronomic (Hezekian) edition (Dt 16:3,4) or in PC (Lev 23:5-8; Ex 12:15-20). In the early-Deuteronomic (Elishan) edition, the Passover and Mazzoth festivals are still separated events. The original text said: "Observe the month of Abib and keep the passover to Yahweh your God by night (Dt 16:1a). You shall eat no leavened bread over it (v. 3aa), for you came out of Egypt in hurried flight" (v. 3ba).

As we shall see later (p. 76), it was the Hezekian editor who added in verse 3: "seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, the bread of affliction," and in verse 4: "No leaven shall be seen in your midst in all the land for seven days." Before the Hezekian reform, there were two separate, independent festivals, the Passover night and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. According to the early-Deuteronomic (Elishan) edition, unleavened bread was eaten for six days (Dt 16:8). This feast is first mentioned in the Covenant Code (Ex 23:15, original text: "You shall keep the feast of unleavened bread in the month of Abib") and in the Ritual Covenant (Ex 34:18aa, ac).

The oldest section of Leviticus 23 (see p. 54) also refers to an independent festival of the first sheaf of grain (barley), seven weeks before the feast of firstfruits (wheat). The first sheaf of barley was connected with a blood sacrifice (v. 13). Therefore, the grain was eaten without leaven, not only by the priest, but by the wor-

shippers as well. This festival was called the Festival of Unleavened Bread, in contrast to the first harvest of wheat, seven weeks later. Originally it was only a cereal offering, which was eaten in the form of leavened bread (v. 17). Deuteronomy 26 refers to this offering of the first fruit of the land. The blood offering which is mentioned in Leviticus 23:18,19 is a post-Hezekian, probably Josian reform, part of Hilkiah's program of a rich sacrificial cult, which later assumed a specific form in Numbers 28 and 29.

From this analysis it follows that:

1) The principle of not eating leavened bread with a blood sacrifice must go back to the old nomadic past, maybe to a time when no leaven was used at all. According to an old record, Lot baked unleavened bread for his guests (Gen 19:3).

2) The custom of eating unleavened bread with the Passover lamb was necessitated by the application of this old Hebrew principle. It had nothing to do with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which originally started with the offering of the first sheaf of grain (barley). Since this offering was connected with a blood offering, the cereal must be unleavened. The fact that this offering was eaten by the priest and the worshiper gave the feast the name of the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

3) This feast was probably associated with the Passover night ritual in the time of Hezekiah, who made the Passover ritual a communal institution to be celebrated in Jerusalem (see pp. 75, 76).

4) Exodus 12:3-13, which describes the old family Passover sacrifice, roasted, not cooked, is pre-Deuteronomic. Exodus 12:15-20 is the Hilkian PC amendment to the ancient law.

5) Leviticus 1-3 consists of elaborate old priestly teachings whose nuclei go back to a time when the worshiper still prepared and killed the victim, and the priest only put it on the altar to be consumed by the fire. This was the case before the building of the temple, when the sanctuary was small and there were but few priests. Such must have been the custom at the sanctuary at Shiloh, as described in 1 Samuel 2:13-15, at the time of the sons of Eli, when Samuel was still young. Even in those old days there were a few regulations (v. 13) dealing with the respective duties of the people and the priests. These regulations may go back to Eli, to Phinehas, to Eleazar or to Aaron. They may have been handed down orally from one generation to the next, and altered if there was need for

it. An old record, probably written in the days of David, but stemming from older oral records, reports that Moses gave the Israelites both civil and ritual law when they had left the frontiers of Egypt behind them (Ex 15:25). We learn that the Ephraimite leader Joshua did the same thing in Shechem (Jos 24:25). The northern writers of the days of Elisha even records the existence of a holy tree in Shechem under which a written document, which the contemporaries of the narrator ascribed to Joshua, was buried. Another source from the same period records that Joshua inscribed some laws on the rocks of a mountain near Shechem (Dt 27:8; Jos 8:32).

It is possible that the Hebrews who conquered Canaan saw documents inscribed on stone, or rocks, or in pagan temples. Some intelligent Hebrews may have learned to read and write from these inscriptions. But this process of acculturation must have taken some time. A record, written in the days of Elisha, relates that Samuel wrote some regulations for the kingdom and laid them down before Yahweh, that is, in the sanctuary (1 Sam 10:25). He may have been the first literate leader in Israel and probably the author of the first written edition of the Covenant Code. Such an enterprise makes sense only if there were a substantial number in Israel who were capable of reading such a text. Under Samuel's leadership the priests of Shiloh and other sanctuaries may have learned to read and to write. Thus began the written priestly regulations.

ARCHITECTONICS

In all periods of human history we meet great personalities who were possessed by the idea of building grandiose systems of interpreting the universe as a graduated whole or of organizing human society as an architectonic structure. Among the most famous of such individuals are Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Maimonides, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Auguste Comte, Karl Marx, Herbert Spencer, Sigmund Freud, and Hermann Cohen. Before all of them came another architectonic genius: the high priest Hilkiah.

Hilkiah wanted to see life well-articulated and well-organized in every dimension. Time and space, life and matter—all had to be graded in hierarchical patterns. History had major and minor periods and personalities. The patriarchal age was important—the Fathers

were God-chosen people who made covenants with God; but the center of history was the Mosaic age, the central personality of this age was Moses, and the central scene of his activity or rather his receptivity (for God spoke to Moses) was Mount Sinai.

The center of space in that age was the camp of the twelve Israelitic tribes, with Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun camped to the east, Reuben, Simeon, and Gad to the south, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin to the west, and Dan, Asher, and Naphtali to the north (Nu 2), all oriented toward the camp of the Levites, whose center was the tabernacle. The tent of the tabernacle was surrounded by a court. In the tent there were a table, a lampstand, and a golden altar before the Ark, screened with a veil. Before the door of the tent stood the altar of burnt offering, and a laver between tent and altar. The holiest place of all was on the other side of the veil before the mercy seat, which was upon the Ark. That was the Holy of Holies, where God appeared in a cloud and spoke to Moses (Nu 7:89).

Life was graduated as well. There were clean and unclean animals. Israel was holier than the other nations (Lev 20:24, 26). Among the Israelites the Levites were the chosen tribe; they were the ministers of the priests. Only the Aaronites could present the offerings. Only the high priest was allowed to enter the Holy of the Holies, once a year, on the Day of Atonement, the holiest day of the year (Lev 16).

Every week ended with a Sabbath, a holy day. The new moon was another holy day of secondary rank. The year was divided into two halves. The two great festival weeks began on the full moon of the first and seventh months. The first festival week closed fifty days after the full moon of the first month; the second closed on its eighth day. Ten days after the new moon of the seventh month, the New moon of Blowing, and five days before the Feast of Booths the holiest day of all came, the Day of Atonement.

Every seventh year was a sabbatical year of release, and the fiftieth year, which came after seven times seven years had passed, was to be a holy year of freedom, the jubilee year, which, of course, had to begin on the holiest day of all, the Day of Atonement.

Among the offerings, the burnt offerings were holier than the peace offerings and the cereal offerings. The blood of the burnt offering was sprinkled against the altar which was at the door. The

sin and guilt offerings, in turn, were holier than the burnt offerings. If the sin offering was that of the high priest or of the whole congregation, the blood was sprinkled seven times before Yahweh before the veil, some of the blood also sprinkled on the horns of the altar. The flesh of these two offerings was eaten by a clean levitical priest only in a holy place (Lev 4-7).

Holiness included flawlessness. Neither victims nor priests could have any blemish or defect. The marriage of the priests was circumscribed by more restrictions than that of lay persons. The high priest could marry only a virgin, hence was forbidden to marry a widow or divorced woman, and he was also restricted in observing the mourning rituals (Lev 21).

Every form of bodily discharge rendered a person unclean. A leper's garments and his home were unclean. It was the highest form of uncleanness to touch a dead body. Water could not cleanse such uncleanness. Only the ashes of a red heifer mingled with the fragrant cedar could cleanse one who had touched a dead body (Nu 19).

Blood and oil, supposedly invigorating, were used to consecrate holy persons and holy objects. Thus the tabernacle and the high priest and his sons were oiled and sprinkled with the blood of sin offerings (Ex 40; Lev 8).

However, the punctilious observance of all the ritual minutiae was not enough. The holy God wanted a holy people, holy both ritually and morally. Human relations had to be based on honesty, justice, and mutual love (Lev 19). Only if all these conditions were fulfilled, would Yahweh give his people security, peace, and prosperity, and assist them in every emergency (Lev 26).

While Moses was alive, all the commandments were revealed to him by God from his mercy seat. For future generations, the high priest could make use of the Urim and Tummim, in order to receive the divine answers to his questions (Nu 27:21). These were two stones, one of which glowed when the answer was yes, the other when it was no. All questions had to be answerable by yes or no. In some cases, such as that of the wife accused of infidelity, the suspect had to undergo the ordeal of drinking bitter cursed water. If she survived, she was cleared of guilt (Nu 5). Thus the priests were able to find out the will of God without having recourse to the crasser magic practices of the heathen.

If a decision had to be made which could not be arrived at rationally, the people often had recourse to various methods of divination and ordeals. They would cast lots (Jos 15:19; Neh 11:1) or let the cows show the way (1 Sam 6:12). In the case of a wife suspected of infidelity, there were no witnesses whose testimony would permit the case to be decided rationally. The indicated ordeal must have been efficacious because of its strong suggestive power; hence it was preserved even when other ordeals had been discarded as ineffective and arbitrary. We read of the Urim and Tummim being consulted only in the period before David's meeting with the prophet Nathan (last record: 2 Sam 5:22). At the beginning of the literary age, the Hebrew leaders must have given up these irrational practices.

During the time of the second temple, Urim and Tummim no longer existed (Ezra 2:63). These two stones are mentioned in an old priestly poem of the ninth century as a divine gift to the tribe of Levi (Dt 33:8). In PC the two stones are to be set into the breast-piece of Aaron (Ex 28:30). The Urim and Tummim may have existed during the entire period of the first temple. If PC had been written during the Persian period, as the school of Wellhausen assumes, there would be no reason to mention the Urim and Tummim as part of the garments of the high priest. The same is true of the Ark. The Ark was placed in the temple in the days of Solomon. Though it may no longer have been used, it remained there throughout the temple's existence. If PC had been written during the Second Temple, the priests would certainly have preferred to ignore the Ark and thus prevent embarrassing questions.

It is striking that PC makes no mention of two important categories of the spiritual leaders of the religion of Israel, the prophets and the singers. The only satisfactory explanation for this omission is that Hilkiyah was hostile to both groups. Prophets like Amos and Jeremiah were against the sacrificial cult. The singers, mostly Levites, hated Hilkiyah because he discriminated against them in favor of the Aaronite priests. There may have been some conciliatory prophets, like Huldah, a cult prophetess. But these were the exceptions. Hilkiyah believed that since God had revealed all of his commandments to Moses (Nu 15:23), it was the priests who had to preserve and to interpret them; the prophets who opposed them had only

nuisance value. The priests considered the prophets of the type of Jeremiah to be madmen (Jer 29:26; Zech 13:1-6).

Ezra and Nehemiah, on the other hand, had a very high opinion of the great prophets (Ezr 9:11; Neh 9:26) and showed a deep appreciation of the Levitical singers (Ezr 3:10). Since there were only a small number of Levites, they began their temple service at the age of twenty (Ezr 3:8) instead of thirty or twenty-five, as stated in PC (Nu 4:3; 8:24). If PC had been written during the Persian period, the priestly author would have certainly referred in his Torah text to "twenty years of age," which was the practice in his day. He would also have referred in Exodus 38:26 to one-third of a shekel instead of one-half of a shekel as the individual contribution to the sanctuary, since one-third of a shekel was the sum contributed during the days of Nehemiah (10:33). All these arguments confirm our view that the priestly authority who wrote the substance of the Priestly Code must have lived before the destruction of the First Temple. Such a grandiose plan must have been the carefully elaborated work of a single authoritative genius, who was free to carry out his reforms; the only priestly author capable of such an achievement was the first high priest Hilkiah, Josiah's right hand and probably his teacher as well.

Ezra and Nehemiah laid great emphasis on the prohibition of mixed marriages (Ezr 10; Neh 13). The Priestly Code which expatiates on forbidden marriages in two chapters (Lev 18 and 20), does not even mention mixed marriages. That, I think, is conclusive proof that the Priestly Code was written during a period when the problem of mixed marriages was not a vital issue—that was the case before the exile and the return. Among the many sins of King Manasseh and those of his successors who followed his policy, no mention is ever made of the Israelites having taken non-Jewish wives. Nor did the great prophets touch on this subject. Hence it was no problem in the seventh century, but one which arose when the returning Jews came into the land largely occupied by non-Jewish peoples.

Similarly, the problem of mixed marriages had arisen in the days of Isaiah, when the land was invaded by foreigners. Consequently there is an injunction against mixed marriages in the Hezekian edition of Deuteronomy (Dt 7:1-4; 20:15-18; 23:4-9, and in Ex 34:15,

16, which, as the style indicates, were added by the Hezekian editor). There is no valid argument to refute the existence of PC during the reign of Josiah. Ezekiel was a priest and a prophet. When he was young, he may have learned to read in the Jerusalemite school for priests by using texts of PC, for both Ezekiel's language and views have much in common with those of PC. But since PC was no longer the official Torah during Jehoiakim's reign, Ezekiel was free to design a program for the future different from that of Hilkiah.

The fact that Nehemiah 8 does not mention the Day of Atonement as occurring on the tenth of Tishri, but rather had a fast day on the twenty-fourth of this month, is no conclusive proof that the Day of Atonement was not celebrated on the tenth of Tishri in Nehemiah's time. There may have been a special reason why the fast day was delayed for fourteen days just as the Passover ceremony was delayed for one month under Hezekiah (2 Chr 30:2). The people were too unhappy, in the former instance (Neh 8:9); the priests were not clean, in the latter instance.

Probably the whole argument against the celebration of the Day of Atonement on the tenth of Tishri in Nehemiah's time rests on a misunderstanding of chapter 8, caused by the erroneous omission of one word. Verses 9ff. obviously refer to a feast of joy, the Feast of Booths. Consequently verse 2 ought to read: "And Ezra brought the Torah before the assembly . . . on the first day of the feast of the seventh month. "The word *lachag* ("of the feast") was omitted, the copyist skipping to *lachodesh* ("of the month"), which begins with the same letters, *lach*. This emendation makes the whole story much more intelligible. On the first day of the Feast of Booths, Ezra read the Torah to the people according to the law (Dt 31:10ff.), perhaps reading the sections in Deuteronomy 23-31 forbidding mixed marriages and describing the blessings and curses. The people began to weep when they heard these sections. Then they were told not to grieve on so holy a festival but to be cheerful and eat well. On the second day the leaders of the people, the priests, and the Levites continued to study the words of the Torah and came across the provisos for the Feast of Booths. They left to build the booths and continued reading day after day for eight days. If this is correct, there was no occasion to mention the Day

of Atonement, and all the lofty constructions based on this chapter are castles in the air.

The most convincing proof that the Priestly Code belongs to the end of the seventh century and not to the sixth or fifth century, as Wellhausen, Pfeiffer, Morgenstern and their followers believe, is the fact that the table of nations (Gen 10) mentions Yavan (Jonia) and Maday (Media), but not Persia. The Medes helped the Babylonians and Scythians attack and destroy the great city of Niniveh in 612. The Persians, at first a kingdom under the domination of the Medes, later achieved independence under the conqueror Cyrus (559-530). A redaction of the Priestly Code that took place during the Babylonian exile or later, at the time of Persian rule, by Ezra or any other authority, could not have omitted mention of Persia. That would have been the worst insult the Jewish priests could have given to their overlords, on whom their very existence as nation and religion depended. That is impossible. The statements that Ezra was the scribe of the law of the God of heaven (Ezr 7:12) or the scribe (*sofer*) of the words of the commandments of Yahweh and his ritual laws to Israel (Ezr 7:11), cannot mean that he was the author or compiler of the Pentateuch or portions of it, but only that he had copied them down as a professional scribe. To Ezra the book of the Torah, the whole Pentateuch, was a sacred book, the work of Moses, the divine lawgiver. He had learned this from his priestly teachers, who in turn learned it from their teachers in a tradition going back to the high priest Hilkiah.

Eighth-Century

Deuteronomy

DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER

The fifth book of Moses differs in many respects from the other four books. Whereas the narrators in Exodus agree that Moses could not speak well, because he had uncircumcised lips, in Deuteronomy Moses is represented as a fluent speaker. Within his closing address, begun in chapter 31 and ending with 32:47, he uttered a poem of forty-three verses before the whole assembly of Israel. That is the end of the literary unit called Deuteronomy. The rest of the Masoretic book, 32: 48-34:9, continues the Tetrateuch.¹ We meet again the "Yahweh spoke to Moses" instead of "Moses said," a phrasing which we find eighty-four times in the second to the fourth books of Moses (in Exodus eleven times, in Leviticus twenty-six times, and in Numbers thirty-seven times). This is the priestly narrator (Pn) who continues Numbers 32 and 33. Numbers 33:1-51, 53, 54 is the last record of Pn in Numbers. The language, style and outlook bespeak the same priestly narrator who listed the death of all patriarchs, their age and burial places (Gen 23; 25:7-10; 49:29-32; 50:13). The Blessing of Moses (Dt 33) must also have been incorporated by Pn. Since Judah, Levi, and Benjamin precede Joseph, since Levi is the leading tribe and the mount of legis-

1. 34:6a ("And he was buried in the valley in the land of Moab opposite Beth Peor") contrasts with verse 6b ("no man knows his place of burial") and verse 5 ("and there died Moses") referring to Mount Nebo (v. 1). The first verse must have been interpolated, probably by the Hezekian editor, who also added verses 10-12. The editor wanted to prevent Mount Nebo from becoming a high-place sanctuary.

lation is Sinai and not Horeb, we have here not the work of a northern poet, but the compilation of the southern ninth century priest, Pn (see pp. 195, 196).

If that is true, the literary unit of Deuteronomy (Dt 1:1-32:47) was incorporated in the Tetrateuch between Numbers 33:54 and Deuteronomy 32:48. This was the pre-Deuteronomistic southern Tetrateuch which contained the Yahwist document and Pn, but not the northern Elohist (E) and the Priestly Code (PC). Deuteronomy 34:10-12 was the finale of the late-Deuteronomistic edition, which, as it will be proved, was made in the Hezekian period (see also p. 161). When referring to Deuteronomy in the following, the author always means the literary unit, Deuteronomy 1:1-32:47, not the following section, which substantially stems from Pn.

This Deuteronomy is in the present form indeed a literary unit. It has a number of stereotyped phrases which are found in different parts of the book and not found in the other books of the Tetrateuch. These are some of the most frequent ones: "learn to fear your God, to love him with all your heart and soul; all the days; all Israel; Hear O Israel; holy people (*'am qadosh*), rejoice before Yahweh, your God; on the place he has chosen; within your gates; cauterize the evil from your midst," etc.

Beside the so-called Deuteronomistic phraseology, there are some terms exclusively used by Deuteronomy for which there are other terms in the others books, except in passages which stem from the northern Elohist (E). Thus the mount of legislation is Sinai in all Judean documents, and Horeb in Deuteronomy and the Elohist (Dt 1:2, 6, 19; 4:10, 15; 5:2; 18:16; 28:69—E Ex 3:1; 17:6). Dt and E never use Sinai.

Dt frequently employs the term "Yahweh thy God." This use is almost unknown in the other books,¹ even when Moses is speaking to the people. Thus, Exodus 16:16,23,32 has: "This is what Yahweh commanded"—not "Yahweh, thy God," as Dt would have put it. Leviticus 19:14,32 has: "Thou shalt fear thy God," not "Yahweh, thy God." The same is true of Numbers 6:24-26: "Yahweh bless thee," etc., not "Yahweh, thy God." PC uses the phrase: "I am Yahweh your God" (plural) as a stereotype in Leviticus 11;

1. Only occurring in Genesis 27:20 and Exodus 23:19; 34:26. However, Exodus 15:26 and 34:24 are Deuteronomistic additions.

18-26 and Numbers 15. The five references to "Yahweh thy God" in the southern decalogue (Ex 20) are an adaptation to the northern Deuteronomic decalogue in Dt 5. It cannot have been original, for verse 11, which is not in Dt, has "Yahweh" twice without "thy God." This verse was added by Pn (see p. 121).

The fact that terms like "Yahweh, thy God" are repeated over two hundred times throughout the book of Deuteronomy, from 1:6 ("Yahweh our God") and 1:21 ("Yahweh thy God"), to 31:11 ("Yahweh thy God"), and 31:26 ("Yahweh your God"), proves that Dt 1-31, at least, underwent a particular Deuteronomic edition. This does not exclude the use in these chapters of material which originally lacked the Deuteronomic phraseology and terms.

Another peculiarity of the book is that it has two beginnings (Dt 1:1-5 and Dt 4:44-49). Both introductions confirm that addresses by Moses that follow were delivered in East Jordan after the defeat of the kings Sihon and Og and the conquest of their lands. The first speech falls into two parts: verses 1-3 is a recapitulation of the historic events ranging from the departure from Horeb (Dt 1:6) to the stay in the valley opposite Beth Peor (Dt 3:29). These are the events which are narrated in Numbers 10-32. Chapter 4 is a philosophic reflection about the character of the revelation at Horeb. The people heard God's voice, but did not see any divine shape in the form of a man, woman, animal, or star. God had spoken to no other nation. He had expelled the peoples of Canaan from their land in fulfillment of his oath to the Fathers, and had given Israel laws of wisdom and justice. Israel must never desert such a God of Mercy and Power.

Moses' second speech begins with a recapitulation of the events which had occurred from the revelation of the Ten Commandments at Horeb to the departure from Horeb (Dt 10:11). These events are described in chapter 5 and chapters 9:9-10:11. In between (Dt 6-9:8), there is another reflection on the qualities of God and his proper worship, the richness of the land, God's unique support of the Israelites, blessings promised for fidelity, and injunctions against infidelity. Deuteronomy 10:11 is followed by another reflective-hortatory speech, contrasting God's powerful love with his stern justice. The land needs rain for prosperity, and its inhabitants strength for conquest. Israel will have both if it is loyal to the God who chose the Fathers and their offspring as his elect.

The first historic section begins where the second one ends. The most plausible explanation for this is that originally the second historic section preceded the first; later the theologian who introduced the reflective-hortatory additions rearranged the text and started a new introduction, for reasons to be discussed below (see pp. 90 and 91).

The main part of Deuteronomy consists of the covenant and code of Moab, which begins at Deuteronomy 11:26 and ends at Deuteronomy 28:69 (Hebrew text) with the words: "These are the words of the covenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the people of Israel in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he had made with them at Horeb." This Covenant of Moab is based on an alternative presented to the people: a blessing or a curse. In Deuteronomy 30:15 the blessing is also termed "life and good," the curse "death and evil." These alternatives were to be dramatically rehearsed and enacted, after the people had crossed the Jordan, by the representatives of the twelve tribes. Six representatives were to stand on Mount Gerizim, the mountain of the blessing, and six on Mount Ebal, the mountain of the curse (Dt 27:11-13). Deuteronomy 28:1-6 enumerates six blessings which were to be fulfilled if Israel would be loyal to Yahweh's commandments; Deuteronomy 28:15-19 contains six parallel curses, if Israel proved disloyal. Perhaps originally it was intended that each tribe was to recite one blessing or curse. The present text has enlarged the number of both the blessings and the curses from twelve verses to sixty-eight. Moreover, it records that on the day of the covenant the Levites were to repeat twelve curses of a different nature, which are given in Deuteronomy 27:15-26. The people were to say, "Amen," to each of the curses.

The text of Deuteronomy 27 must have been elaborated. In verse 12 Levi is one of the twelve secular tribes. In verses 9 and 14 the Levites function as priests. The phrasing in 9: "And Moses and the Levitical priests said to Israel," is quite unusual. Probably, the original text had only Moses; "the Levitical priests" was interpolated in this passage as in Deuteronomy 17:9 and 12. The original of 17:9 was: "you shall come to the judge" and not "to the Levitical priests and the judge"; verse 12 had originally: "not obeying the judge," not "the priest and the judge." In chapter 21:1-9 the ceremony is performed by the elders (v. 2, 3, 4, 6), not by the priests.

It is not a sacrifice offered at the altar. Therefore verse 5, which inserts "the Levitical priests" must have been interpolated, as it was in the other mentioned places. In chapter 27:14 the original text had: "and they shall intonate and say" exactly as in 21:7 and 26:5. "They" refers to the twelve tribes whose representatives are stationed on the mountains.

Deuteronomy 27:1-8 has also been elaborated. Verse 4 (the setting up of stones) repeats verse 2; verse 8 (writing the Torah on the stones) repeats verse 3. Hence verses 2bb-4a were interpolated. The original stated that after the people had crossed the Jordan, they were to set up large stones and plaster them together at the mountain of Ebal (probably originally Gerizim, the mountain of Blessing). Besides, they must build an altar and make burnt offerings and peace offerings upon it. Then they were to write all the words of this Torah on the stones. The words of this Torah refer to the blessings and curses (Dt 28:1-19). The interpolator, who wanted all of the Torah, a copy of Deuteronomy 12-26, to be written on the stones, not only the blessings and curses, added verse 10, which mentions "all the commandments and statutes." That this was his intention we gather from Joshua 8:32, where we read explicitly: "And he wrote on the stones a copy of the Torah of Moses."

Since the mountains Gerizim and Ebal are in Ephraim, and Deuteronomy in its present form forbids sacrifice outside of the God-chosen city (Deuteronomy 12; 14; 15; 16; 26), we must assume that we have two strata: an older Ephraimite stratum, and a later Jerusalemite one. That the basic Ephraimite Deuteronomy allowed the erection of altars to Yahweh in various places can also be seen from 16:21, "You shall not plant any Ashera tree beside the altar of Yahweh your God which you shall make," and 26:4, "Then the priest shall take the basket from your hand and set it down before the altar of Yahweh your God." Hence verse 2, which insists that the person making the offering journey to the God-chosen city, is an interpolation of the Jerusalemite editor (the God-chosen city is, of course, Jerusalem). In the northern kingdom it was always permitted to sacrifice at one of several sanctuaries.

Since the priests were not exclusively Levites in the northern kingdom (1 Ki 12:31), Levi was still a tribe of Israel in Ephraim, and it was the Jerusalemite priesthood which interpolated "the Levitical priests" in chapters 17, 21, and 27, just as they interpolated

"the God-chosen city" in chapters 14-17 and 26, and probably added those sections of chapter 12 which repeatedly stress that there must be only one sanctuary, that of the God-chosen city. In chapter 14 the following passages should be considered as interpolated: 14:23 ab, 24-26ba. The original text read, "And you shall eat before Yahweh your God the tithe of your grain, of your wine and of your oil, and the firstlings of your herd and flock." "Before Yahweh" meant in one of his sanctuaries. The Jerusalemite interpolator added "at the God-chosen place," to exclude all other sanctuaries. Verses 24-26ba, which permitted substituting money for the tithes, if the sanctuary were too far away, became necessary when only one sanctuary was permitted.

EPHRAIMITE AND JERUSALEMITE STRATA

The discovery of two strata, the Ephraimite and the Jerusalemite (ED and JD) provides us with the key to the origin and composition of the peculiar book of Deuteronomy. Obviously, one of the chief differences between the two strata is the attitude towards the number of legitimate sanctuaries: only one (JD), or several (ED).

In Deuteronomy 12 we find both attitudes, proving that this chapter is of composite structure, as is chapter 27. The chapter has two sections, each section representing two strata. The first section (1-12) combats all pagan or paganlike shrines. They are all to be destroyed, those which are on the high mountains or in the hills as well as those situated under green trees. The loyal worshiper of Yahweh must seek holy places, which Yahweh will "choose out of all your tribes *to put his name there*." All the offerings must be brought to those holy places (1, 2, 4-7). The reference is to all the legitimate Yahwist shrines possessed by the different tribes. Another segment follows: After the completion of the conquest and settlement, when the land has become secure, there may be only one sanctuary. All offerings must be brought to the sacred place "which Yahweh chooses to make his name *dwell there*" (8-12). This, of course, refers to the temple of Jerusalem, built under the peaceful king Solomon after the end of the bloody period of wars of conquest and defense. The legislator warns the people not to forget the Levites because they are landless. This is an obvious reference to the fact that not all the Levites will be able

to officiate as priests when there is only one sanctuary. The large number of needy Levites must be supported by men of substance. Since verse 4 continues verse 2, verse 3, enjoining iconoclasm, which occurred under Hezekiah, was added by JD.

The object of the second section is to allow profane slaughtering. It need no longer be forbidden to eat meat without offering part of it to Yahweh; since in a large country the sanctuary is far away, the people can eat as much meat as they desire; the requirement is that the blood must not be eaten and the mandatory and voluntary offerings must be offered at the legitimate holy place (v. 20-27). This segment, which is ED, is preceded by a parallel amendment by JD (v. 13-19), forbidding the offering of a sacrifice at any other place than the one which Yahweh will choose in the territory of "*one* of the tribes" (v. 14). This is a new term, coined in opposition to the "place chosen from *all* the tribes" in verse 5. This segment, of course, is JD; this hypothesis is corroborated by the injunction to the people not to forsake the Levite (v. 19). These injunctions are found only in the two segments which must be ascribed to JD and not in those ascribed to ED—and is a powerful proof of the accuracy of these ascriptions. It is also noteworthy that ED speaks of a holy place where Yahweh "puts" his name (Dt 5:21), whereas JD speaks of a holy place where Yahweh "dwells" (Dt 12:11; 14:23; 26:2). Yahweh can *dwell* in a sanctuary only if there is but one. If Yahweh has many sanctuaries, his name is *put* on them. In Deuteronomy 12:5 the term "to put his name there" is glossed by "so that he can dwell there" (*l'shichno*). This gloss was obviously added by JD.

Chapter 16, which deals with the festivals, is very instructive on this subject. One needs but read the first nine verses, dealing with Passover and the Feast of Mazzoth, to feel that the original text has been tinkered with. Within seventeen verses we find the full formula "at the place which Yahweh will choose to make his name dwell there" three times (verses 2, 6, 11) and the abridgement "at the place which Yahweh will choose" three times (7, 15, 16). The text of verses 1-8 is now hardly intelligible. It deals partly with Passover (1, 2, 3aa, 3b, 4b, 5-7), partly with the Feast of Unleavened Bread (3ab, 4a, 8).

A careful analysis shows that the text of verses 1-8 is composed of both, ED and JD. The older segment enjoins the observance of

the passover ritual in the month of spring, the month of the Exodus (v. 1). The offering must be eaten with unleavened bread, and no part of it may be left over for the next day (v. 3aa, b, 4b, except "on the first day"). That is in full harmony with the Covenant Code (Ex 23:18; 34:25). But then we read of a second festival, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which must be observed for a week: for six days no leavened bread may be eaten, and the seventh day must be the close of the holiday on which no work is permitted (v. 8).

Another text, obviously JD, has been inserted in this ED text. The new text repeats three times that the passover may not be eaten anywhere except at the place of Yahweh's residence (v. 2, 5-7). JD also makes the point that the two festivals, Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, are one. Therefore "there must be no leaven for seven days in all your territory"; only unleavened bread must be eaten (v. 3ab, 4a, "on the first day" in 4b). The "with it" in verse 3aa referred originally to the passover offering of verse 1a. The "with it" in verse 3ab may be an erroneous repetition of the same phrasing in 3aa. It makes much better sense if we omit it the second time, and read: "seven days you shall eat unleavened bread."

In verses 9-17 it is logical to assume that it was JD that inserted in verse 11 "the Levite in your gates," in verse 14 "the Levite," and in verses 11b, 15ab, and 16, "at the chosen place." In verse 16 the original text had only "before Yahweh"—the same phrase we find in the Covenant Code, from which it was taken (Ex 23:17; 34:23). That the reference to the Levite is secondary can be gathered from the fact that in texts where there is no insertion by JD the categories of the needy include only "stranger, fatherless, and widow" (Dt 24:17-19, 21; 27:19); the Levite is omitted.

The section dealing with the tithe (Dt 14:22-29) reveals the same two strata. Verses 22, 23aa, ac, ad, 26bb belong to ED. The tithe of all yield shall be eaten before Yahweh, i.e. in one of the legitimate sanctuaries. Verses 23ab, b, 24-26ba, 27 were added by JD. This section allows the conversion of the goods into money, if the single national sanctuary is too far away; the tithe must be shared with the Levite, for he is landless. ED prescribes that the tithe must be given to the needy (the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow) every three years (v. 28, 29ab, ac, b). JD includes the Levite among the needy.

The section dealing with the release of debts in the sabbatical

year (Dt 15:1-11) is likewise of composite structure. Verses 1-4 promise that there will be no poverty in the land if the law of release is observed. Verses 5-11, however, qualify this optimistic hope. The release will not abolish poverty. People may be cautious in lending money when the Sabbatical year is near at hand. Therefore it is necessary for those who have, to give generously to those who have not. In this we see a great difference between ED and JD. ED is confident and optimistic and presupposes a prosperous country with a generous population. JD, however, is critical and more realistic; it presupposes a poor country; there will always be a need for charity.

This difference in attitude confirms our assumption that the older stratum, ED, is Ephraimite, and the younger stratum, JD, is Judean; for the northern kingdom was economically more advanced and more prosperous than the southern, especially during the time of the Assyrian invasion. If JD was written at the time of the Assyrian invasion, ED must have been written some generations before. The most plausible assumption is that ED came to Jerusalem at the time of the fall of Samaria and was enlarged by JD under Hezekiah, who made Jerusalem the only national sanctuary by eliminating the local shrines (2 Ki 18:4,22).

Deuteronomy 16:21 must stem from ED. It forbids the planting of an Ashera tree besides an altar of Yahweh. This presupposes the legitimacy of several altars and shrines. We know that Elijah and Elisha led a life-and-death struggle against the followers of Queen Jezebel, who wished to assimilate the Israelitic cult to that of the Phoenician Baal and Ashera. Hence this prohibition must stem from the Yahwist movement, which under Elisha's leadership restored anti-pagan Yahwism and made Jehu the king of Israel. Deuteronomy 16:22, however, appears to be an addition made by JD. "And you shall not set up a pillar, which Yahweh your God hates." Here not only pagan cult idols are forbidden, but pagan symbols, used in the service of Yahweh, as well. This fits the iconoclastic movement initiated by Hezekiah, who even destroyed the serpent that Moses had made and who broke all the pillars (2 Ki 18:4), not only the Ashera. There is also a difference in tone between verse 21 and verse 22. The former is factual; verse 22 has an emotional undertone. The fight for a pure worship of Yahweh took more rigorous forms under Hezekiah in Judah than it had in the northern country

in the days of Elisha. The fall of the northern kingdom called for more drastic action against paganization. The men who surrounded Hezekiah learned from the catastrophe that the worship of Yahweh must be freed of all pagan cult forms and symbols (2 Ki 17:7-23). Not only the sacred trees consecrated to Asherah, but all the pillars must be eliminated, for they are all hateful to Yahweh. This is something new in the history of Yahwism. Still the priestly narrator (Pn) in Genesis 35:14 tells us that Jacob set up a pillar in Bethel, and Moses one at the foot of Mount Sinai (Ex 24:4). That was in the ninth century, when no prophet or priest of Yahweh thought of forbidding the setting up of pillars in the service of Yahweh. The northern prophet Hosea who preached in the last decades before the fall of Samaria took no exception to pillars (Hos 3:4). But after the fall of Samaria, the leaders around Hezekiah concluded that Yahweh detested pillars as unworthy cult symbols.

From this it follows that Deuteronomy 12:3, which commands the people to "tear down the altars, dash in pieces the pillars and burn the Asherim with fire, and hew down the graven images of their gods and destroy their names out of that place," was added by the iconoclast JD. A similar injunction was added by the Hezekian editor in Exodus 34:11-13.

However, the injunction against sacrificing to Yahweh an ox or sheep with any blemish or defect (Dt 17:1) belongs to the older stratum of ED, as chapter 15:21 indicates. But the emotional verse 1b, "for that is an abomination to Yahweh your God," probably stems from JD, as is the case of chapters 22:5; 23:19; 24:4 and 25:16.

JD is not against the sacrificial cult as the great pre-exilic literary prophets (including the Second Isaiah) were. What JD wants is an ideal cult, performed at an ideal place, for an ideal God. The whole tribe of Levi must perform this cult. The Levites must possess no landed property, but eat the fire offerings. They must receive the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the stomachs of oxen or sheep, and the first fruits of the grain, wine, and oil, and the fleece of the sheep. Yahweh had chosen this tribe of all the tribes, just as he had chosen one holy place of all the different tribal sanctuaries. Every Levite who came to the chosen sanctuary was allowed to officiate as a priest, like those who had been officiating there before (Dt 18:1-8).

Even the text of Deuteronomy 18:1-8 is composite; for verse 5

relates to verses 1 and 2. "God has chosen him from all the tribes," can refer only to the tribe of Levi and not to any single priest. Therefore, chapter 18:3,4 is ED and verses 1, 2, 5-8 are JD. ED calls the priests *kohanim*. JD calls them "Levitical priests" (*kohanim halviim*) (Dt 18:1) or only "Levites" (v. 6, 7). In the northern kingdom, as we know, not all the priests were Levites (1 Ki 12:31); they were simply called priests. In Judah, at least in the days of Hezekiah, all the priests were Levites.

After Jerusalem became the sole national sanctuary, all the Levitical priests could not officiate in that capacity. As a result some of them did other kinds of work—became judges, teachers, singers or temple attendants. The administration was in the hands of the king, as we know from the history of David, Solomon, and Ahab. In Judah the king appointed judges in all the fortified cities of the land (2 Chr 19:5); this was probably also the case in the northern kingdom, at least during the ninth century, if not earlier. Local justice was in the hand of the elders (1 Ki 21). In difficult cases the elders may have appealed to the king or his representative. In his role as judge, the ruler was called *shofet*.

Deuteronomy 17:8-13 has been elaborated. If the local court cannot decide a case, the elders, or whoever administers justice, must go "to the Levitical priests and to the ruler" (*shofet*) and they must decide (v. 9). That cannot have been the original text, which read either "to the priests" or "to the ruler." The original ED, the northern text, evidently had "to the ruler." JD added "to the Levitical priests." The same happened in verse 12: "to the priest . . . or to the *shofet*." The term "Levitical priests" is characteristic of JD. ED calls the priests simply "*kohanim*." In the northern kingdom the priests were not as powerful as they were in Jerusalem. The prophets were the spiritual leaders of the north. The prophet Elisha did for Samaria what the priest Jehoiada did for Judah—the restoring of the pure worship of Yahweh combatting the propaganda for the Tyrian Baal, fostered by the queens.

Deuteronomy 17:14-20, the law of kingship, also consists of two strata. The first, 14-17, 20b, inveighs against a luxury-loving king like Solomon and against a foreigner. It is, of course, of northern origin, since the north lacked a stable monarchy and there was indeed a danger of a foreigner becoming king. Verses 18-20a, however, require the king to copy the law of kingship from the

book of the Torah, which was in the custody of the Levitical priests, and to be humble and loyal to Yahweh. This section must be JD: only in Judah did the Levitical priests have charge of a sacred book of the Torah. King Hezekiah himself, as we may conclude from Proverbs 25:1, ordered the putting together of a Holy Writ. After the fall of Samaria, the northern and the southern versions of the basic Pentateuch were combined and the northern Deuteronomy (ED) was enlarged to JD. Hezekiah was the only regal model for this prescription to copy and study the book of the Torah preserved by the Levitical priests of Jerusalem.

Deuteronomy 19:17 is a case similar to chapter 17. In 19:17 we read that in case of a dispute between two parties, the disputants shall appear "before Yahweh, the priests, and the judges." There are far too many judges. The ED text obviously read only "judges," as in verse 18. JD added "the priests." The term "before Yahweh" may represent the vestige of a text older than ED. Before there were judges, either secular or priestly, the defendant would approach God for a ruling (so Ex 21:6 and 22:7,8), i.e. the decision originally came via an oracle or an ordeal.

The section describing the establishment of cities of refuge (Dt 19:1-10) also contains two strata. The older stratum, verses 1-6, gives a clear, factual description of the application of these cities and prescribes the establishment of three cities of refuge. Verse 10 concludes this prescription. Verses 7-9, an addition by JD, prescribe the establishment of three additional cities when the territory shall become larger, as God had promised to the Fathers. The style is hortatory rather than factual, and characteristic of JD. After the fall of Samaria, Judah had only one city of refuge. Formerly, at least in pre-Solomonic times, the altars had been asylums (1 Ki 2:28; Ex 21:14) for the person guilty of unwitting manslaughter. In the reign of Hezekiah, when all the local shrines were no longer in use, more cities of refuge were required. Therefore JD added the prescription to establish another three cities of refuge. Such a law was not thought of as an innovation. Moses was presumed to have anticipated this eventually, for God had promised the people a larger territory, if they were faithful to Him.

The phrasing "when Yahweh your God enlarges your territory" occurs only twice: in Deuteronomy 12:20 and in 19:8. The first passage belongs to ED, the second to JD. The clause "as he told

you" in Deuteronomy 12:20 may have also been added by JD. Both this clause and the clause "as he has sworn to your fathers" (Dt 19:8) refer to Genesis 15:18-21 where Yahweh promises Abraham to give him the land from the Brook of Egypt (read *minachal* for *minahar*, as in 2 Ki 24:7) to the river Euphrates. The author of this passage was the priestly revisor of the Yahwist document, as will be shown later (see p. 155), so that it was known to the post-Solomonic annotators, both Ephraimite and Judean.

Deuteronomy 4:41-43 relates how Moses set aside three cities in the east on the other side of the Jordan. The phrasing is the same as in Deuteronomy 19:4, 5 ("that he may flee there . . . (kills) unintentionally . . . he did not hate him yesterday or the day before . . . that he flee to one of these cities to save his life"). The passages complement one another: chapter 4 refers to the three cities of refuge that Moses set aside in East Jordan; chapter 19 prescribes a similar action after the occupation of West Jordan. The language and the details of both passages differ from those of the PC text that deals with these cities (Nu 35; Jos 20). Consequently, the common reference to the cities of refuge in Deuteronomy 4 and 19 appears to have been written by the same Ephraimite author. Chapter 4:41-43, which interrupts Moses' speeches to describe his action, is puzzling. The most plausible explanation for the insertion at this point may be that Deuteronomy 4:41-43 originally followed Numbers 32, which dealt with the occupation of East Jordan. Numbers 32:33-42 belongs substantially to the priestly revision of the early-prophetic Yahwist nucleus (see p. 173). The northern Elohist (E) commented on this revised Yahwist document (J). While J narates that the different tribes conquered and occupied certain territories (32:34-39, 41-42), E notes that it was Moses who gave the territory of Sihon and Og to Gad, Reuben, and the half of Manasseh (33), and Gilead to Machir (40). Having noted this, E goes on to add that Moses was the one who had set aside the three cities of refuge in East Jordan. Since Numbers 33-36 had not yet been written¹ when E wrote, the old Tetrateuch of E ended with the passage now in Deuteronomy 4:43. As suggested above (see pp. 71, 87, 88), Deuteronomy 4:44 was the beginning of ED. Apparently, the manuscript of the northern kingdom, which came to Jerusalem at

1. 34-36 is PC; 33 is Pn substantially; 33:2,52,55,56 is Hezekian edition.

the time of the fall of Samaria and was enlarged and annotated by JD during the reign of Hezekiah, had the Ephraimite Protodeuteronomy (ED) as an appendix of the Tetrateuch, which, of course contained only J (the revised Yahwist document) and E. The Hezekian edition of Deuteronomy (JD) rearranged and enlarged the Deuteronomic text, placing the account of the events that took place after the departure from Horeb before the account of Horeb itself (see on pp. 90, 91), and permitted the record of the first establishment of the cities of refuge to remain where it had been, before Deuteronomy 4:44; the editor did not transfer this material to a position before chapter 1:1 or any other verse.

The section, Deuteronomy 20:10-18, which deals with the treatment of enemies in wartime, makes a conspicuous distinction between two attitudes. The attitude represented in the first segment (v. 10-14) is milder: First one must begin with proffers of peace; only if these are rejected can one go to war. Only hostile men of fighting age may be killed—women and children may become the victor's booty, like cattle and other property, but they must not be put to death. However, the second segment (v. 15-18) qualifies this mild practice as applying only to the non-Canaanite peoples. The native population of Canaan must be wholly exterminated "that they may not teach you to follow their abominable practices in the service of their gods, and so sin against Yahweh, your God."

These two attitudes towards the enemy are, of course, reflections of different conditions of life. The practice based on the milder attitude is prescribed in the Prototetrateuch, which contained only the revised Yahwist document (J) and the annotation by the Ephraimite Elohist (E). See the conflicts with Edom, Sihon, and Og in Numbers 20,21. The practice based on a sterner attitude is applied in the Prototetrateuch only to Amalek (Ex 17). Since there is no J document in Deuteronomy, the first segment must be ED. After the fall of Samaria, the leaders of the Hezekian generation came to realize that disaster had befallen the Northern Kingdom because of its laxity toward the native population's customs and religious practices. Therefore they applied the old *herem* doctrine of complete liquidation not only to Amalek, but to all the native Canaanite tribes and peoples as well. The story of the conquest of Canaan recorded in the book of Joshua, which originated in Ephraim, was revised in the days of Hezekiah to be in keeping with

the law in Deuteronomy 20:15-18—this is particularly true of Joshua 8-11.

It follows that Deuteronomy 2 and 3, which favor the milder practice, belong, at least substantially, to ED, whereas Deuteronomy 7:1-5, which prescribes the harsher practice, stems from JD. This is in full accordance with the present author's theory about the origin of the Addresses of Moses (Dt 1-11), as we shall see later (pp. 87-95).

Deuteronomy 21 and 22 contain only one complete verse that can be attributed to JD, i.e., 21:5. The ceremony of the heifer that is killed as a substitute for the missing murderer was performed by the elders of the town (v. 2, 3, 4, 6). In Judah, especially in the days of Hezekiah, the Levitical priests were responsible for settling disputes of a religious or civil character (as we know from Dt 17:9,12). Hence, they were to take an active part in that ceremony. That is the meaning of the interpolated verse 5. The emotional verse 22:5b is also JD (see pp. 84, 85).

Chapter 23:2-9, which deals with the treatment of foreigners as well as those things that disqualify a person from joining the community of Yahweh, clearly show two strata. The original ED had only verse 8 (Hebrew text): "You shall not abhor an Edomite, for he is your brother; you shall not abhor an Egyptian, because you were a sojourner in his land." This is the older, milder practice of J and E. JD, of course, is stricter, allowing only the third generation of Egyptians to join the community of Yahweh and excluding Ammonites and Moabites completely. JD equally excludes sexually abnormal individuals, as also endangering the moral purity of Israel. JD alone uses the phrasing "enter the community of Yahweh." Micah 2:5 confirms the fact that the term "community of Yahweh" was used in Judah in the Hezekian period.¹

Deuteronomy 24 contains two verses, 8 and 9, which must stem from JD. These verses enjoin the people to follow the instructions of the "Levitical priests" in cases of leprosy and not forget what happened to Miriam—a reference to the events recorded in Numbers 12, narrated by J and E. The hortatory language and the term "Levitical priests" are characteristic of JD. The segment 25:17-19,

1. The term "community of Yahweh" was used in Jerusalem as early as the ninth century by the priestly narrator (Pn). See Numbers 16:3;20:4—both Pn.

beginning, "Remember what Amalek did to you on the way as you came from Egypt," stems from JD, as does the parallel, "Remember what Yahweh your God did to Miriam on the way as you came forth out of Egypt" (Dt 24:9). JD regards the liquidation of Amalek as a pattern to be followed with the natives of Canaan, as we learn from Deuteronomy 20:15ff.

The last chapter of the Deuteronomic Code, chapter 26, is substantially ED, annotated by JD. The "before the altar of Yahweh" (v. 5.) or "before Yahweh your God" (v. 10 twice, v. 13), indicating many altars, are ED. The place of Yahweh's residence (v. 2b) and the Levite (v. 11, 12, 13) stem, of course, from JD. Verses 16-19, a hortatory segment, replete with stereotyped "Deuteronomic" phrases, is also obviously JD.

Deuteronomy is the only lawbook in the Pentateuch which deals with the institution of the prophets and qualifies their activities. Two sections deal with this subject: 13:2-6 and 18:9-22. The first section condemns to death any prophet who fosters the worship of other gods than Yahweh. The second section forbids any of the magic practices usual among the native population of Canaan. The true prophets of Yahweh are the only means of communicating with the deity, the only ones able to foresee the future. Prophets whose prophecies do not come true are false and must be put to death.

The milder attitude, reflected in the first segment, which condemns only the idolatrous prophets, suits the times of Elijah and Elisha. Queen Jezebel, as we know, maintained four hundred fifty prophets of Baal and four hundred prophets of Ashera (1 Ki 18:19). The attitude reflected in the second segment, with its attempt to eliminate all pagan vestiges, suits the time of Hezekiah with his iconoclastic policy. We know from Isaiah (2:6) and Micah (3:5-7) that in their days Judah was rife with all sorts of magicians and that there were many false prophets who prophesied for money, telling the people what they wanted to hear. Hence we cannot be on the wrong track if we assume that section 13:2-6 stems from ED and 18:9-22 from JD.

To sum up: Our analysis of the Code of Deuteronomy has shown that the Code consists of an older Ephraimite stratum and a later Judean one. These conspicuously differ in many respects:

The older, northern stratum, ED, condemns the worship of for-

eign gods, is more lenient in wartime toward the natives of Canaan, and reflects a prosperous country—one confident of being able to abolish poverty if the law concerning the Sabbatical release year is observed. The judges are laymen, not priests. Yahweh has many legitimate altars in the cities of the various tribes.

The later, southern stratum, JD, combats all pagan symbols and magical practices, urges the liquidation of the native Canaanites and the exclusion of Moabites and Ammonites from the community of Yahweh; it would admit only Egyptians and Edomites of the third generation. JD reflects a less prosperous country where charity on the part of the well-to-do is indispensable. The administration of justice is chiefly in the hands of the Levitical priests, who are also in charge of the holy book of the Torah. There is only one legitimate sanctuary, the residence of Yahweh, which is located in one chosen city, where all Levites may officiate as priests. Being landless, the Levites must be generously supported by the whole people. Prophets whose predictions do not come true are false and must be put to death.

The two strata even differ conspicuously in language. ED is factual, balanced, terse, colorful, and original. JD is more emotional, verbose, hortatory, colorless, and stereotyped. To ED may be attributed phrases like:

uvī'arta har'a (13:6; 17:7, 12; 19:19; 21:21; 22:21, 22; 24:7), *uvī'arta dam naqi* (19:13; 21:9), *chet'* (19:15; 21:22; 22:26; 23:22, 23; 24:15, 16; JD only 15:9, *v'lo' tachos 'encha* (13:9; 19:13, 21; 25:12), *t'vu'ah* (14:22; 16:15; 22:9; 26:12), *nochri* (14:21; 15:3; 17:15; 23:21), *hetev* (13:15; 17:4; 19:18; 27:8), *bayamim hakem* (17:9; 19:17; 26:3), *tsedeq* (16:18, 20; 25:15), *haddiach* (13:6, 11, 14), *sarah* (13:6; 19:16), *kol davar r'a* (17:1; 23:10), *'ervat davar* (23:15; 24:1), *l'fi charev* (13:16; 20:13), *hit'ammer* (21:14; 24:7), *nachon hadavar ne'estah hato'evah haz'ot* (13:15; 17:4), *ger yatom 'almanah* (14:29; 16:11; 24:17, 19, 20; 26:13; 27:19),¹ *kol yamav* (22:19, 29),² *ba'al* [to marry] 21:13; 22:22; 24:1).³

The verses which may be attributed to the older stratum ED are: 12:1aa, b, 2, 4, 5 (except "to dwell there"), 6, 7, 20 (except "as he

1. Not *'ani v'ger* as in Leviticus 19:10; 23:22.

2. Not *'ad 'olam* as in Deuteronomy 12:28; 23:4; 28:46.

3. In Gen 20:3(E), not in J or P.

told you"), 21 (except "as I have commanded you"), 22-24, 27; 13: 1, 2-4a, 6aa, ac, b, 7, 9-11a, ba, 12-18a, ba; 14: 21aa, ab, b, 22, 23aa, acd, 26bb, 28, 29 (except "the Levite who has no portion or heritage with you"); 15: 1-4, 12-14, 16-20aa, b, 21-23; 16: 1a (and "night"), 3aa, ba, 4b (except "on the first day"), 8, 9-11a (except "the Levite"), 13, 14 (except "the Levite"), 15aa, b, 16 (except "at the chosen place"), 17-21 (except "all trees"); 17: 1a, 2, 3a, 4, 5 (except the second "the man or the woman"), 6-8aa, ac, 9 (except "to the Levitical priests"), 10aa, b, 11, 12aa (and "to the judge"), 12b, 13-17, 20b; 18: 3, 4; 19: 1-6, 10-17 (except "the priests"), 18-21; 20: 1-14, 19-20; 21: 1-4, 6-23; 22: 1-5a, 6-29; 23: 1, 8, 10-19a, 20, 21a, 22-26; 24: 1-4aa (to "defiled"), 5-7, 10-17, 19-21; 25: 1-15; 26: 1, 2a, 3-5a, ba, 6a, 7, 8aa, 9a, 10-15 (except "the Levite" three times).

The rest of the Deuteronomic Code may be attributed to JD.

THE FRAMEWORK

By the framework of Deuteronomy we mean chapters 1-11, Moses' first two addresses in East Jordan, as well as chapters 27-32:47. Chapter 27 contains the commandment of Moses and the elders to the people to erect an altar and to inscribe the Torah on large stones at a mountain near Shechem. The twelve tribes were also commanded to intone blessings and curses from the two mountains in that area. Chapter 28 is a short listing of blessings and a much longer listing of curses. Chapters 29-31 contain Moses' two closing speeches, and 32:1-47 is his swan song. Chapter 31 also records Moses' last actions before his death.

According to our present text, Moses' first address in East Jordan after the defeat of the kings Sihon and Og and the occupation of their lands, begins in chapter 1:6 and ends with 4:40. After Moses has set aside three cities of refuge, he starts another long speech, beginning with chapter 5:1 and ending with 26:19. This speech is introduced by the author of the book at chapter 4:44-49. The author of the book also introduces the first speech in chapter 1:1-5. There is no hint in the book of Deuteronomy that Moses is its author; in fact, since the author of the book speaks of Moses in the third person, the natural assumption is that the author is *not* Moses.

4. Verse 3b, "and the sun or the moon or the whole host of heaven," is added, probably by JD. This cult was popular in Judah, especially during the reign of Ahaz, the father of Hezekiah (2 Ki 23:11, 12).

The fact that the author calls the area in which Moses spoke the land "beyond the Jordan" (*'ever hayarden*) clearly indicates that the author wrote in the land west of the Jordan. This excludes Moses as the author.

The first speech consists of two heterogeneous sections. The first section, 1:6-3:29, is substantially a summary of the events from the departure from Horeb to the people's sojourn in the valley opposite Beth Peor. The second section, 4:1-40, is a theological reflection on the wisdom of the Torah and the impossibility of representing Yahweh, the only cosmic God. Verses 25-31 are interpolated into this text, for verse 32 continues verse 24. Since this interpolated segment refers to Israel's return from the exile and dispersal among the nations, it is probably a post-exilic expansion, written after the return of Jews from Babylonia to Palestine under Zerubbabel. The interpolator indicates that he is speaking of a distant future by beginning with the words, "When you beget children and children's children and have grown old in the land," and by referring to "the latter days" (v. 30). This is proof that the text preceding and following the insertion must have been much older than the insertion itself.

The historical outline is also elaborated. There are scholarly glosses in chapters 2:10-12,20-23;3:9-12,13b dealing with the former population of Canaan. Chapter 2:14-16 presupposes the PC version of the story of the spies, according to which not only the spies but the whole generation of Moses as well had to wander through the desert for thirty-eight years till they all died (Nu 14:29-35), whereas both Deuteronomy 11:1-7 and 29:1-6 indicate that the whole framework of Deuteronomy is addressed to the Exodus generation, not to its children. Deuteronomy 1:35 must be a similar post-Deuteronomic gloss. The original narrator related that only "these men," that is, the spies, would not see the land. PC, the Josian editor, who added chapter 2:14-16, must also have amended it to read "this evil generation." There are other interpolations of a hortatory character, such as in chapters 1:10-11,21,26b,31-33,43ba; 2:7,24ab,b,25;3:23-28. Omitting these many expansions of the text, we have a clear and factual record of the events in harmony with the J document and its E annotations. Two features are not mentioned in either J or E of our Tetrateuch. The first is that Moses chose twelve spies, one from each tribe (Dt 1:23), a detail that is

only recorded by Pn in Numbers 13. The second innovation is that Yahweh forbade an attack not only on Edom, but also on Moab and Ammon (Dt 2:5-19). This friendly attitude toward foreign peoples is in keeping with ED, as we know from Deuteronomy 23:8, in contrast to the hostile attitude of JD (Dt 23:4-7).

All these considerations make it highly probable that the original, objective narrator of the historic outline was ED, while the hortatory elaborations belong to JD. Since King Hezekiah was himself a scholar and interested in the collection of sacred literature, there may have been some scholars in the priestly school of the Jerusalem of his time whom we may credit with the scholarly glosses as well.

The reflective portion of Moses' first speech, which combats any representation of Yahweh by image or symbol, befits the Hezekian iconoclasm and strict anti-paganism. The king himself had destroyed the bronze serpent made by Moses in the desert. So we must assume that the Ephraimite Deuteronomy had already both a code and a framework which the Hezekian edition had enlarged and readapted to suit its own views and needs.

The second address (Dt 5:1-11:32) of the framework corroborates this assumption. The historic outline of the events that occurred at Mount Horeb begins with Deuteronomy 5:1-28aa, Hebrew text ("but you stand here by me"), and is continued in chapter 9:9b-21,25. This section is not completely free of hortatory glosses, which may have been added by JD. These are: chapter 5:5 (except the last word, "he said" which belongs to ED), 12b,15,26 (Hebrew text);9:10b,11bb. The word "calf" was added by JD in verses 16 and 21: it is redundant in both cases. It seems to the present author that the idol was called "calf" after the fall of Samaria as a condemnation of the calves set up by Jeroboam at Bethel and Dan. This allusive mockery also came into the text of Exodus 32 through the Hezekian edition. The original read "idol" (*elohim*), as it still does in Exodus 32:31.

All the passages in Deuteronomy 10:1-5 which refer to the ark must have been interpolated. These are verses 1b,2b,3aa, and 5. The whole text is far more intelligible if these passages are omitted. If they had been in the original, verse 1b ("make an ark") would have preceded verse 1ac ("come up to me") for, according to verses 2 and 3, Moses made the ark and left it at the foot of the mountain.

Deuteronomy 10:6,7 and 10:8,9 are two insertions, also probably

introduced by JD. The first (v. 6,7) represents that Aaron was punished for his idolatry. In Deuteronomy 9:20, ED states only that God wished to destroy Aaron, but that Moses prayed for him and saved him. That reflects the milder practice of the North. The South was stricter, especially after the fall of Samaria, and could not leave the spiritual ancestor of Jeroboam unpunished. There were two traditions about the place of Aaron's death. According to the priestly tradition (Nu 20:33;38,39), Aaron outlived his sister Miriam, who died in Kadesh (Nu 20:1), so that Aaron died at Mount Hor. This must have been the Aaronite tradition, for it gives Aaron a much longer period of activity with Moses. JD did not distinguish between Aaronites and Levites; hence he accepted the Levitical tradition which considerably shortened Aaron's active period. According to this tradition, Aaron died at Moserah (Dt 10:6). That is the sixth encampment place before the Israelites arrived at Kadesh, according to the priestly record (Nu 33:31-37, Pn). Aaron's early death must have been regarded as the punishment for his support of idolatry.

The second insertion (Dt 10:8,9) stresses the election of the whole tribe of Levi to be the priestly tribe as the result of the people's backsliding into idolatry. This tradition, of course, is JD, who repeats it in the Code (Dt 18:1,2), in contrast to the Ephraimite tradition, which allowed non-Levitical priests to serve side by side with Levitical priests.

The rest of Moses' second address (Dt 5:28ab-9:9a,22-24,27-29; 10:12-22;11:1-25) is of a hortatory and reflective character. It emphasizes the high values of the worship of Yahweh, his bountiful providence and wonder-working power, his impartial justice and sympathy for the downtrodden. He demands loyalty, humility, and obedience, loves Israel, and wants to be loved by the descendants of the beloved Fathers. Yahweh will give his people victory, prosperity, and security. That, of course, was the program of the Hezeian movement.

Deuteronomy 11:26-30, which refers to the public recital of blessings and curses on the mountains Gerizim and Ebal, is Ephraimite. Verses 31 and 32 are interpolated by the verbose and hortatory JD.

As suggested above (p. 72), it is more than probable that in the original text of ED the historical summary began with Deuteron-

omy 4:44, "This is the Torah which Moses set before Israel." Then followed verses 45,46aa: "These are the testimonies, the statutes and the ordinances, which Moses spoke to the Israelites when they came out of Egypt, beyond the Jordan in the valley opposite Beth Peor." Next came the recapitulation of the story of Horeb (Dt 5:1-28aa; 9:9b-21,25;10:1a,2a,3ab,b,4aa,b,10,11a). This was followed immediately by the account beginning with the departure from Horeb and ending with the sojourn in the valley of Beth Peor (Dt 1:6b,7aa,9a, 12-17,19aa,ab,b,20,22-26a,27-30,34,35aa,ba,37-43a,43bb-46;2:1-6,8aa,b, 9,13,17-19,24aa,26-37;3:1-8,10,12,13a,14-22,29. All the omitted passages are hortatory, scholarly, or explanatory glosses, which must be ascribed to JD. After the historic summary, ED introduced the code with chapter 11:26-30. Verses 31 and 32 are other hortatory and explanatory glosses, added by JD.

Why did JD rearrange the historic summary and reverse the chronological order, introducing Moses' addresses before the code proper? To answer this question we have first to make clear the purposes that the two writers had before them.

ED's purpose is to prove that Moses spoke with authority; originally God himself had spoken to the whole people, but they preferred Moses to act as an intermediary between them and the Deity, for they could no longer endure the thunder and lightnings that accompanied God's words (Dt 5:20-25, Hebrew text). God accepted Moses as a legitimate messenger. When the people fell back into idolatry, it was Moses who through his intercession saved the people from annihilation (Dt 9:9bff.). When the legislative and administrative work became too great a burden for Moses, with the people's approval he chose wise and experienced men to be his representatives. In Kadesh the people demanded that twelve spies be sent out to reconnoiter the land of Canaan. Their report discouraged the people. Displeased, God, caused Israel to be defeated in battle by the foe. Then God guided the people through the wilderness by passing peacefully the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites. When the kings Sihon and Og attacked the Israelites, they were allowed to resist; they defeated the aggressors and took their land. So they could cross the Jordan without fear and conquer the land promised to them (Dt 2,3).

JD, the conservative Hezekian edition, could not alter any of the text of the sacred book (ED) which was supposed to be the

authentic words of Moses. The editors could only make their comments in the form of lengthy amplifications whose purpose was to make it clear to the remnant of the people of Israel, the tribe of Judah and the city of Jerusalem, that if they wished to survive, they must give up all the symbols and vestiges of paganism. Yahweh was a unique God. His power, justice and mercy were superior to that of all the other gods. God was invisible, without shape. Only his voice could be heard as at the assembly of Horeb. No people except Israel had even heard the voice of the living and invisible God. No other people had such wise and just laws. No god could perform so many wonders and was so near to the people as Yahweh was. Therefore the people must love Yahweh and obey his Torah. Yahweh loved the Fathers and their descendants, the people of Israel, though they were but a small nation. Yahweh had delivered his people from Egypt miraculously and guided them through the desert; now he would give them the land promised to their fathers. But they must not mingle with the Canaanites or copy any of their customs and religious practices. Yahweh must never be represented by any image or statue depicting a man or a woman, an animal or a star, or any other visible object.

The Horeb story was a better instrument for such reflections as described above than was the post-Horeb story. There JD could only annotate to the effect that the people had been rebellious (Dt 1:26b,43b) or had lacked confidence (Dt 1:32); and JD could also expatiate on Yahweh's unique greatness and power (Dt 3:23,24). Therefore JD rearranged the text, first introducing the less significant post-Horeb story, and then going on to concentrate on the Horeb account. Before giving the ED text in chapter 5, JD inserts a long preparatory speech dealing with the unique character of the Torah and of the non-representational deity. These he connects with the events of Baal Peor referred to in ED's last words (Dt 3:29) in Deuteronomy 4:3, and then goes on to anticipate the Horeb event referred to by ED in chapter 5.

Chapter 6-8 are JD's reflections on God's providence, his Torah, his land, and his people. They emphasize that all these are unique and must never be forgotten if Israel is to survive and not be doomed. JD's sermon cannot be understood unless one is aware of the ominous shadow of the fall of the Northern Kingdom. Hence the repeated indications of zeal and passion, and the emotional out-

bursts. The writer is brimming over with this tragedy, and so hammers away passionately with both new arguments and old formulae.

Now let us consider the last speeches and actions of Moses. The curses of Deuteronomy 27:15-26 are basically ED. Interpolated by JD are the first curse (no graven or molten image) and the last (too general, not concrete). Verses 20ab and 22ab may also be later glosses that were added by JD. The original text had no qualifications and adduced no reasons.

Chapter 28 consists of two sections: verses 1-14 contain the blessings that shall result from loyalty to God, and 15-68 the curses that shall result from disloyalty. The first segment of the blessings (v. 1-6) has its negative parallel in the first segment of the curses (v. 15-19). These segments, which are terse, factual and unreflective, are ED. Only verse 1b, "Yahweh your God will set you high above all the nations of the earth," may have been added by JD. There is no negative parallel for it in chapter 28:15. The same exaggerated distinction is also mentioned in 26:19;15:6 and 28:12,13. All these passages are certainly not ED, but JD. The implication is that 28:7-14, of which they are a part, also belong to JD. They represent the wishful thoughts of the Hezekian kingdom, which suffered under the threat of an imminent invasion by the Assyrians. The Judeans prayed and hoped for victory, prosperity, security, sufficient rain, and the status of a creditor nation rather than a debtor one.

The very long section of curses (Dt 28:20-68) is not all of one piece. Verses 45-47 appear to be an interpolation, and verses 58-61 another. There is nothing in the whole chapter which cannot have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. The far-off reckless nation that plunders the land and sets a siege so terrible that it can lead to cannibalism in the besieged city refers to the Assyrians and the fall of Samaria, not, as W. A. Irwin suggests, to the Babylonians and Jerusalem. Some of the Ephraimites may have sought refuge in Egypt. Unable to establish themselves there, they may have tried in vain to sell themselves as slaves. To such occurrences Deuteronomy 28:68 may refer. So the whole of this section may stem from JD. The two insertions (verses 45-47 and 58-61), however, may have been added after the Hezekian edition, probably after the first deportation in 597.

ED closed the code not with Deuteronomy 28:19, but with 28:69 (Hebrew text): "These are the words of the covenant which Yah-

weh commanded Moses to make with the Israelites in the land of Moab besides the covenant which he had made with them at Horeb." The implication is that the Ephraimite Deuteronomy was not intended to be the whole Mosaic legislation, but a supplement to the Covenant Code (Ex 21-23). ED must have been the last part of the Ephraimite Tetrateuch, which contained only the J document with the Ephraimite annotations (E). In the Ephraimite Pentateuch these passages followed: "And Moses wrote this Torah and gave it to the elders of Israel (Dt 31:9aa.b). And Moses commanded them, 'At the end of seven years, at the set time of the year of release, at the Feast of Booths you shall read this Torah before all Israel so that they hear it'" (v. 10,11b). Then there followed Deuteronomy 31:14,15,23, verses which betray the character and language of E and are correctly ascribed by many scholars to E. The tent of meeting mentioned in these verses is not the tabernacle of PC, but the simpler tent of meeting mentioned in Exodus 33:7-9, which is E. There, too, we read that the pillar of cloud stood by the door of the tent when Yahweh appeared. The same form of theophany is to be found in Numbers 12:5, which is also E. It was quite natural for E, the Ephraimite source, to assume that Yahweh sanctioned the succession of Moses by the Ephraimite Joshua, as we read in these verses.

JD, of course, preserved these Ephraimite passages and annotated them. JD added "the Levitical priests" (Dt 31:9), for, according to JD, the book of the Torah was in the custody of the Levitical priests (Dt 17:18). JD also added the passage dealing with the God-chosen place (v. 11a), specified who was to hear the Torah read, and closed with one of his typical hortatory remarks (v. 12,13). He also annotated a brief hortatory sermon delivered by Moses to Joshua (v. 7,8). But JD could not do this without adding a hortatory sermon to the whole of Israel, which we read now in verses 1-6.

ED had mentioned a new covenant of Moab distinct from that of Horeb. This, of course, served JD with a good pretext to elaborate on this new covenant. So JD has Moses deliver a long address on this occasion (Dt 29:1-28), in which Moses prophesies that if one or many of the tribes should relapse to paganism, they will suffer the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah because they have forsaken the covenant. This refers to the northern ten tribes and the

fall of Samaria. Deuteronomy 30:11 continues the sermon of 29:1-28. To encourage the people Moses declares that the Torah is no mystery book, located neither in the heavens nor across the sea, but "near to you, in your mouth and heart." But before dying, Moses must call heaven and earth to witness his last effort to persuade his people to choose life and the blessing, rather than death and the curse, dramatically chanting before his people a song for future generations to take to heart. After Moses and Joshua had recited this poem, Moses concluded with a last warning to his people not to forsake the Torah (Dt 32:44-47).

The analysis of chapters 30 and 31 faces two difficulties: First, 30:1-10 must be an interpolation in a JD text. Indicating as it does that Israel, though dispersed among the nations, will return converted to the land of its fathers, it can only stem from the days of hope and return after the advent of Cyrus and the conquest of Babylon (559-520). Second, 31:16-30 is of composite character. Verses 16-22 characterize the swan song of Moses, ending with the statement that Moses wrote down the song and taught it to the people. Verse 23 is the last verse of ED. Verses 24-26 add that, after writing the whole Torah, Moses commanded the Levites who carried the ark of the covenant to lay the book of the Torah down beside the ark to remain there as a witness. That can be only a corrective amendment introduced by PC. In Deuteronomy 31:9, where ED had stated that the Torah was given to the elders, JD added (or rather corrected) that it was given to the Levitical priests who carried the ark of the covenant. By verses 24-26, PC explains that it was not the priests but the Levites (as distinct from the Aaronite priests) who carried the ark, so that Moses must have given the book of the Torah to them. Furthermore, not only the song, but the whole Torah must be a witness. Verses 27-29 must have been inserted to make the transition from the Torah as witness to the song as witness. This interpolation must be later than PC.

The song (Dt 32:1-43) reflects a composition during the reign of Hezekiah. The coming of the reckless nation (v. 21) refers to the Assyrians. Yahweh did his best to help Israel, but Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked and forsook God. God allowed his foes to destroy Israel, but he will avenge the blood of his servants. That may be a reference to the fall of Northern Israel at the hand of the Assyrians. The poet hopes that God will punish the aggressor. This

need not have been written after the fall of Nineveh (612). The last verse, however, which invites the nations to praise His people, for "God has avenged the blood of his servants," may have been added after the fall of Nineveh, probably by PC, as "atonement" suggests.

From all this it follows that the original Deuteronomy, both code and framework, was written by ED and commented upon by JD. PC, the Josian edition, added: "this evil generation" in Deuteronomy 1:35; 2:14-16; 31:24-26; 32:43. After JD, about 597, the following verses were interpolated: Deuteronomy 28:45-47, 58-61. After the exile (540-520), 4:25-31 and 30:1-10 were added.

Although the framework of ED is brief and historical, while the code deals with legal material, we find some linguistic features common to both. The phrasing *'anah v'amar* (to answer and say) is found in Deuteronomy 1:14,41;21:7;25:9;26:5;27:14, not in JD; *hemas 'et l'vav* (melting of the heart) is used in Deuteronomy 1:28 and Deuteronomy 20:8, both ED.

SOURCES, DATE, AND IDENTITY

What material or which sources did ED employ for his edition of the basic Deuteronomy? A closer analysis shows that in the oldest material the elders of the city still perform all the judicial functions; these have not yet been delegated to judges or officers. The following passages are from the oldest material: Deuteronomy 19:11-13 (the murderer who seeks refuge); 21:1-4,6-9 (the heifer as a substitute for an unexpiated murder); 21:18-21 (the rebellious son); 22:13-21 (the bride suspected of adultery); 25:5-10 (the man who refuses to marry his brother's widow). The later material which refers to judges or officers includes: Deuteronomy 16:18-20 (the institution of judges and officers); 17:8-13 (the appeal to a higher court); 19:15-21 (false witnesses); 20:1-9 (exemptions from war service); 21:2 (the heifer ceremony is to be performed by both elders and judges—the latter may have been added by ED); 25:1-3 (the limits of flogging).

The old material stems from a harsh penal code. The later material reflects a milder, more humane practice. The older material emphasizes that it is the purpose of the punishment "to eradicate or cauterize the evil." It is often accompanied by the injunction, "Your eye

shall not pity," e.g., Deuteronomy 19:13; 21:9, 21; 22:21. To this harsh old penal code may also be attributed Deuteronomy 22:22-24 (adultery and rape); 24:7 (stealing and selling a person); 25:11-12 (the brazen wife), and the retaliation law in 19:21. The same formula ("Cauterize the evil from your midst") is also found in passages referring to the worship of foreign gods or the seduction of others to such worship: Deuteronomy 13:2-4a, 6aa, ac, b, 7-18a, ba; 17:2, 3a, 4-7.

The following laws have a humaner character and may have a later origin: Deuteronomy 15:1-4, 12-18 (the release of debts and slaves); 20:10-14 (overtures of peace during a siege); 20:19-20 (the saving of fruit trees); 21:10-17 (the war prisoner); 21:22, 23 (the immediate burial of a hanged man); 22:1-4 (aid to suffering beasts), 6, 7 (letting the mother bird go free), 8 (a battlement for the roof), 25-29 (the virgin who resists rape not to be punished); 23:8 (no malice to be borne against foreigners), 16, 17 (rescuing a runaway slave), 20, 21a (the giving of interest), 25, 26 (pilfering fruit from field or vineyard); 24:5 (no military service for the newly married), 6 (illicit pledges), 10-13 (returning pledges before sunset), 14, 15 (paying hire the same day), 16 (responsibility is a personal, not a family matter), 17 (justice), 19-21 (the forgotten sheaf); 25:1-3 (moderation in flogging).

All these laws are based on the humane provisions of the Covenant Code (Ex 22:20-26; 23:1-9), which they expand by adding new cases or applications. They may have been formulated in their final form by ED. The same is true of the priestly and cultic laws, which are: Deuteronomy 12:1-7 (except 3—JD) (sacrifices at sanctuaries), 20-24, 27 (profane slaughtering allowed); 14:21aa, ab, b (eating no unslaughtered beast, nor a kid boiled in his mother's milk), 22, 23aa, ac, 26bb, 28, 29 (tithes); 15:19-23 (the first-born); 16:1a, 3aa, b, 4b, 8 (Passover), 9-11 (Feast of Weeks), 13-17 (Feast of Booths), 21 (no Ashera); 17:1a (sacrificial victims to be without blemish); 18:3, 4 (the priests' due); 22:5a, 9-11 (no mixed clothing or ploughing), 12 (tassels); 23:1 (sex taboo: father's wife), 10-15 (clean camp), 18-19 (no prostitution), 22-24 (vows).

Two of the laws are direct quotations from the Covenant Code (i.e., Dt 14:21b = Ex 23:19b—kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk; and Dt 16:16 = Ex 23:17—attendance at the sanctuary three times a year). In addition, there are some laws which enjoin im-

partial justice and commercial honesty: Deuteronomy 16:18-20; 19:14; 25:13-15. These include two quotations from the Covenant Code (Dt 16:19aa = Ex 23:6a—do not pervert justice; and Dt 16:19b = Ex 23:8—the bribe corrupts).

A third section of the ED laws presupposes the Covenant Code (Ex 20:20-23:19). These laws reformulate, amend, or complete the simpler laws of the Covenant Code. However, two thirds of them must come from another source. Though the ED Code seems to supplement and complete the Covenant Code, it does not aim to replace it, for ED does not touch on Exodus 21:18-22:14, the civil code properly so called. One fourth of ED deals with cases of war and sex, another with the administration of justice and a penal code, a third section deals with priestly and cultic affairs, and the last quarter with humane laws. The Covenant Code touches on no cases of war and has only one of sex; it specializes in civil damages, which are absent from ED.

It is noteworthy that the same spirit permeates both the ED code and the Covenant Code. Both have a harsh penal code, both stress righteousness and humaneness, and both regulate the cult without any threat of punishment. In both almost the same crimes are punishable by death. In the Covenant Code the crimes are murder, kidnapping a man and selling him, beating or cursing one's parents, copulation with animals, sacrificing to foreign gods, and performing witchcraft. ED prescribes death for murder, kidnapping a man and selling him, the rebellious son, the whoring daughter, adultery, and worshipping foreign gods or seducing others to do so. Both codes recognize the rule of retaliation: a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, etc. ED adds that a false witness should suffer the same punishment which he wished the defendant would have incurred. The difference between the two codes is based on different social and cultural conditions. The rebellious son who was a drunkard and glutton, and the daughter who whored in her father's house, reflect a society economically more advanced than one in which children beat or curse their parents. In a more advanced society, adultery is more frequent than witchcraft or copulation with animals. Worship of foreign gods, as a result of the incitement of idolatrous prophets or another urban group, was a greater threat to the religion of Yahweh during the reign of the Baal-worshipping Queen Jezebel than it was in the tribal period of

semi-nomadic wanderings. This distinction proves that ED re-adapted even this old material to the needs of his time. The same is true of the laws regulating the cult, marriage life, and war, as well as those dealing with righteousness and humaneness.

The Covenant Code regulates the cult, but not the priesthood, for the cult of its time was still substantially the cult of the family, with the head of the family officiating as priest. We know that as early as the days of Eli in Shiloh there were in existence some regulations for the priests. Orally transmitted for several generations, such regulations were written down when the need arose, that is, at a time of emergency or crisis and when there were a number of literate people.

The very same term, "the priests' due from the people" used by the old narrator in the story of Eli (1 Sam 2:13) is used in ED (Dt 18:3): "This shall be the priests' due from the people, from those offering a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep: they shall give to the priest the shoulder and two cheeks and the stomach. The first fruits of your grain, of your wine, and of your oil, and the first of the fleece of your sheep, you shall give him." The story of Eli records a conflict, between the priest and the people who sacrificed, over the portion due to the priest. In Shiloh the priest's servant thrust a three-pronged fork into the pan, kettle, cauldron, or pot; the priest took for himself whatever food the fork picked up (1 Sam 2:13,14). That, of course, was a very primitive arrangement and one which easily led to disputes. We must assume that in the days of Solomon, when the temple was built and the priests better educated, there was a need for more objective practice. The proviso which we find here in ED may have been formulated at that time. The other sanctuaries, like Bethel, Dan, Beersheba, Hebron, etc., may have accepted the new rule. Since JD did not amend it, it may have been still the practice during the Hezekian period.

PC, however, has another ruling. In Leviticus 7:34, we read: "For the breast that is waved and the thigh that is offered I have taken from the people of Israel, out of the sacrifices of their peace offerings and have given them to Aaron the priest and his sons as a perpetual due from the people of Israel." Apparently the high priest Hilkiah, when reorganizing the cult after the rule of Manasseh and his son Amon, to enhance the prestige of the Aaronite priests gave them the breast and the thigh rather than the lowly shoulder,

cheeks, and stomach. Such a reform was only possible as the consequence of a fundamental reorganization of the priesthood, by a great authority.

According to ED, two years out of every three, the tithe of the grain, wine, and oil, and the firstlings of the herd and flock had to be eaten in one of the legitimate sanctuaries. The third year, the tithe was to be given to the poor of the place. This ruling was absent from the Covenant Code and may have come in substantial part from the period of the early monarchy. From the story of Melchizedek (Gen 14:20) we may conclude that even in pre-Israelite Jerusalem the tithe was given to the priest. A similar conclusion may be drawn for the Canaanite Bethel from the story of Jacob, recorded by the northern Elohists (Gen 28:22). However, the third-year proviso may be one of the many humane suggestions that ED introduced to help the poor. JD, who had to provide for the Levites after the elimination of the local shrines, recommends that the Levite be given a share in the tithe. Hilkiah's reform prescribes that the whole tithe be given the Levites "in return for their service in the tent of meeting." The tenth part of the tithe is to be given to the Aaronite priests (Nu 18:21,26).

The author of ED must have been a man of sanguine disposition, otherwise the sevenfold repetition that the Israelite must rejoice is inexplicable (Dt 12:7;14:26;16:11,14,15;24:5;26:11). The Feast of Weeks and the Feast of Booths are particularly occasions for rejoicing. If a man marries, he must not go abroad on military service, but must stay at home and be happy with his wife (Dt 24:5). In the same spirit of liberality, ED suggests that four categories of persons should be exempt from taking part in war: he who has built a house and has not yet dedicated it; he who has planted a vineyard and has not yet enjoyed its fruit; he who has betrothed a wife and has not yet taken her; and finally, he who is fearful and fainthearted, "lest the heart of his fellows melt as his heart" (Dt 20:5-8). Only a great man who loved peace and his fellow men genuinely and deeply could have introduced such instances into his code. That excludes the suggestion that ED could have been written in the last decade of the Northern Kingdom, when the land was in a state of moral, religious, and political disintegration, as we know from Hosea's sermons.

The period when ED wrote must have been one of severe reli-

gious conflict, not of religious decay. The prohibition of planting an Ashera beside the altar of Yahweh may reflect the period of King Ahab, who built a temple for Baal and planted an Ashera beside it (1 Ki 16:32,33). Chapter 13's injunction against agitating for the worship of foreign gods is most applicable to the reign of Jezebel, who maintained four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal and four hundred prophets of Ashera (1 Ki 18:19). ED sanctions the policy of Elijah, who killed these idolatrous prophets (Dt 19:1; 18:40).

The intrusion of the cult of the Tyrian Baal also implied the spread of religious prostitution and fertility cults. Hence the injunction: "There shall be no cult prostitute of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a cult prostitute of the sons of Israel. You shall not bring the hire of a harlot or the wages of a sodomite into the house of Yahweh your God in payment for any vow" (Dt 23:18,19, Hebrew text).

ED is not opposed to the sacrificial cult; on the contrary, he takes it very seriously, enjoining: "Offer the flesh and the blood of your burnt offerings on the altar of Yahweh; the blood of your peace offerings shall be poured out on the altar of Yahweh, but the flesh you may eat" (Dt 12:27). This appears to be from an old priestly ruling which may go back to the beginnings of the worship of Yahweh, the period of the nomadic wanderings in the Negev. The offering of the first-born originated in the same period; after the settlement in Canaan this offering was complemented by that of the first fruits of the soil. Not content with mere ritual correctness, ED repeatedly emphasizes that the victims must be without blemish (Dt 15:21; 17:1). Yahweh wants perfection, holiness, cleanness. He cannot abide any "uncleanness" whether in the camp (Dt 23:10-15) or in individuals. If a man finds his wife guilty of "uncleanness," he may divorce her (Dt 24:1). This sense of decency and cleanness must have been an integral part of the religion of Yahweh from its very beginning. We find it in the Covenant Code (Ex 20:26) and in the old story of Noah's vineyard, which was written in the days of David or Solomon, but may reflect the first reaction of the nomadic Israel against the obscene cult of the Canaanites and their neighbors. The story of Baal Peor (= the denuded God), which may go back to some historical event, dates this hostile reaction against cultic obscenity from Moses. It is possible that the episode

told in Exodus 32, and that told in Numbers 25, go back, as Gressmann suggests, to the same historical event. Exodus 32:25 twice uses the word whose root is *pr* which means "let loose"; this may be a word play on *p'r* (Peor).

1 Sam 21:5,6, written in the tenth century, shows that even the simple shepherd and chieftain, David (see 1 Sam 22:1-2), was aware of the strict separation of sexuality and nudity from the cult of Yahweh. Such a separation could not have entered the religion of Yahweh during the period of the Judges. This ancient and genuine feature of the religion of Yahweh evidently is closely connected with the fact that Yahweh was an asexual God who had no wife, children, brothers, or sisters.

ED mentions only five sexual taboos: copulation with the wife of one's father (Dt 22:30;27:20), with one's sister (Dt 27:22), with one's mother-in-law (Dt 27:23), with a beast (Dt 27:21) and adultery (Dt 22:22). In the case of adultery, both guilty parties are put to death. The same fate befalls a betrothed virgin, if she does not resist intercourse, as well as her lover. But if the virgin resists, she is not punished. If she is not betrothed, the man must marry her and pay fifty silver pieces to her father; he can never divorce her. But if a girl plays the whore in the house of her father, she must die (Dt 22:20-29). Since the law distinguishes town and field and refers to pieces of silver, these laws cannot have been formulated before the settlement in Canaan.

From Genesis 38:24 we gather that a daughter who whored in the house of her father during the nomadic period was burned to death. This harsh punishment was still retained in PC for the daughter of an Aaronite priest (Lev 21:9). ED does not mention death by fire, referring only to death by stoning or by hanging (Dt 21:22,23). But beside the payment of fines ED also mentions the punishment of flogging (Dt 22:18;25:1-3). Parents could flog their disobedient children (Dt 21:19). Hanging and flogging were, of course, unknown to the nomadic tribes, who may have taken these punishments over from the urban civilization of the native population. Hence they cannot have been older than the institution of the monarchy. Hanging a hostile leader on a tree was a war measure (Jos 8:29).

The Israelite invaders were confronted with the alternative of accepting or rejecting the customs and laws of the native popula-

tion. They accepted the agricultural technique along with the agricultural festivals. But the Israelites rejected a number of customs and laws which contrasted too sharply with their religious tradition. Thus they rejected obscene fertility rites and gory rites of self-mutilation and all practices that were brutal, indecent, and unclean. Already the Covenant Code enjoins against boiling the kid in the milk of its mother (Ex 23:19). Such boiling, as we know from the Ugaritic documents, was a fertility rite. There must have been many others. ED mentions some, i.e., men and women must not exchange clothing (Dt 22:5); a vineyard must not be sown with two kinds of seed; an ox and a donkey must not plow together; and wool and linen must not be woven together (Dt 22:10,11). These anti-pagan taboos must stem from the pre-monarchic period. PC has preserved a more general formulation of these taboos: "You shall not let your cattle breed with a different kind; you shall not sow your field with two kinds of seed; nor there shall come upon you a garment of cloth made of two kinds of stuff" (Lev 19:19). This formulation is younger than that of ED, for, in the history of law, the specific case always precedes the general ruling.

From all that has been said it becomes more and more clear that ED used at least two bodies of laws in addition to the Covenant Code which he amended and completed. The first body of law consisted of the Torah of the Elders: a civil and penal code which was transmitted orally from one generation of elders to the next. If necessary, an older law was qualified or made more specific to adapt it to the needs of the time. Thus Deuteronomy 22:23ff. qualified the older harsh law of the verses 13-22 (if a betrothed virgin resists intercourse with a stranger, she is not punished). Deuteronomy 25:7-10 (*chalitza* rite) may have been a later amendment, because there were many brothers-in-law of a childless widow who did not want to marry the widow. So ED introduced the ceremony of contempt for refusal (*chalitza*) as a legal alternative.

The second body of laws was the Torah of the Priests: a series of cultic prescriptions which was also orally transmitted from one generation of priests to the next. Deuteronomy 15:19-23; 18:3,4; 22:9-12; 23:10-15; 26:1-5 (except JD) may have been taken from this source. The Torah of the Priests did not play so large a role in the Northern Kingdom as in Jerusalem, especially when that city became the central sanctuary of the country in the days of Hezekiah.

In Ephraim, the Northern Kingdom, another body of laws, the Torah of the Prophets, exerted a much greater influence upon the development of the religion of Yahweh. The prophetic guilds, which were founded by the Ephraimite Samuel (1 Sam 1:1;10:5) and developed by Elijah and Elisha, moved from town to town and fought hard for the purity of the worship of Yahweh and for the rights of the people against the social injustice and corruption rampant in the courts and in the government. "Would you have a word spoken on your behalf to the king or the commander of the army?" the prophet Elisha asked the poor woman of Shunnam, whose creditor came to take her two children to be his slaves (2 Ki 4:1,13). Elisha also looked after the righteousness and integrity of the members of the prophetic guild which he headed (2 Ki 5:26;6:5).

These circles not only transmitted orally the history of the people of Israel and the Fathers from one generation to the next; they also handed down a wealth of wisdom and moral teaching and tried to influence life and legislation in the direction of more righteousness and humaneness. They knew by heart the fine humane and ethical prescriptions of the Covenant Code (Ex 22:20-26;23:1-9), which they reformulated and expanded into an oral textbook for their meeting talks. Deuteronomy 22:1-4,6,7;25:4 (compassion toward animals); 23:16,17 (saving the runaway slave), 20,21 (ban on interest), 25,26 (Hebrew text) (petty pilfering condoned); 24:5 (newly married man exempt from war service), 24:6,10-17,19,20 (aid to the poor) and 25:14,15 (commercial honesty) may have originated in this source.

A closer analysis will disclose that the same humane and righteous spirit was at work in the formulation or re-formulation of many of the laws, even those which came from other sources: for instance, permitting profane slaughter (Dt 12:20-24), the release of debts in the seventh year (Dt 15:1-4), the release of a slave in the seventh year, liberally furnished with presents (Dt 15:12-18), the provision that slaves shall share in the festival joy (Dt 16:9-15), the administration of impartial justice (Dt 16:18-20), the assurance of a fair trial (Dt 19:15-19), exemption from military service (Dt 20:1-9), protection of fruit trees during a siege (Dt 20:19,20), humane treatment of war prisoners (Dt 21:10-17), immediate burial of a hanged man (Dt 21:22,23), warning against hostility to foreigners (Dt 23:8), warning against filthy camps (Dt 23:15), asylum for fleeing

slaves (Dt 23:16-17), moderation in flogging, "lest your brother be degraded in your sight" (Dt 25:1-3).

The compiler of ED could only have come from these prophetic circles. We may even go a step further. Since the ED code reflects a period in which Yahweh had to fight with the Tyrian Baal for his survival in Israel, and the code could only have been edited by a leader of reputation and authority, the most plausible hypothesis is that the editor of this code was the great statesman and humane prophet Elisha himself. Elisha organized the revival of true Yahwism, after the overthrow of Jezebel by the military commander Jehu, and then presented the code to the new government. Elisha regarded Jehu's drastic purge of Jezebel and the house of Ahab as a just punishment for Jezebel's massacres of true prophets and loyal worshipers of Yahweh (2 Ki 9:7). The prophet Hosea, however, who wrote a century later, condemned this bloody revenge as the cause of the disintegration of Ephraim and its final downfall (Hos 1:4,5). Even Elisha, who recognized Jehu as the new king of Israel, may have had moral doubts concerning the excessively violent means used by Jehu, for Elisha himself abhorred violence and bloodshed. Elisha wept when he told Hazael, a Syrian general, that his master, the king, would die and Hazael would become king. Asked why he wept, Elisha said: "I know the evil that you will do to the people of Israel; you will set their fortresses on fire, and you will slay their young men with the sword, and dash their children and rip up their women with child" (2 Ki 8:12).

This passage indicates vividly the great moral conflict within this man. He abhorred violence as brutal and wicked, but he knew that as long as war existed it would be brutal and wicked. Reading Deuteronomy 20:8-10, with its statement that the tender-hearted should not go to war, and that the first action of war should be to offer terms of peace to the enemy, we come to the conclusion that just such a man as Elisha might have written these passages. This code was addressed to Jehu, the king, after the civil war was ended, and not to Jehu, the commander-in-chief, who had to bring this war to a speedy, if bloody, conclusion.

ED cannot have been written by a priest, for priestly concerns do not play a large role in it. It must have been written by a humane statesman, one who understood that the harsh penal code was necessary to eradicate evil, but one, also, who was tender-

hearted and peaceful, and who tried to humanize the law as much as possible. Elijah may have been the more popular figure, but Elisha was the organizer, the statesman, the humanitarian, and the more practical restorer of the religion of Yahweh.

His code reveals the man. Elisha wanted joy, happiness and dignity for all men. "Rejoice before God with your children, your servants, the stranger, and the needy" (Dt 16:11). Enjoy a one-year honeymoon, exempt from war duties (Dt 24:5). If you crave meat, you may eat meat as you desire (Dt 12:20). But do not make your son a drunkard and glutton (Dt 21:20). The king must avoid luxury in the form of a multitude of horses, wives, and gold and silver (Dt 17:16,17). Happiness implies absence of fear (Dt 20:3). Only the fearless should go to war; the fearful should stay at home (Dt 20:8).

In ED's opinion, a happy person shares his happiness with others, especially with the needy and the downtrodden. When you set free a slave in the seventh year, provide him generously with food, a flock, grain, and wine (Dt 15:14). Do not return a runaway slave to his master (Dt 23:16). Be tender-hearted with a prisoner of war. Let her mourn her parents before you marry her. If you do not like her, set her free (Dt 21:13,14). Do not take as a pledge a mill or an upper millstone, or a cloak needed to cover its owner at night (Dt 24:6,13), or the garment of a widow (v. 17). Do not oppress a hired servant, whether he be a Hebrew or a non-Hebrew. Give him his hire after he has finished his work (Dt 24:14,15). Leave part of your harvest for the needy, the alien, the widow, the fatherless (v. 19-21). Do not condemn foreign peoples, like the Edomites or the Egyptians (Dt 23:8). Even the lawbreaker has human dignity. Do not sentence him to too severe a beating "that your brother be not degraded in your sight" (Dt 25:3). Do not muzzle the ox when he treads out the grain (Dt 25:4). Let the mother-bird go before you take the eggs or the little ones (Dt 22:7). Do not cut down the fruit trees when you besiege a town (Dt 20:19,20).¹

ED is no dreamer. He is a realist who knows that there is evil in

1. When Elisha was younger, he himself ordered fruit trees to be cut (2 Ki 3:19). That does not exclude the possibility that at a later age he condemned this practice. Apparently the problem was one that concerned him.

this world and that evil must be eradicated—or cauterized, as he puts it. The judges, however, must render their verdict with great caution; they must inquire diligently and impartially (Dt 16:19; 19:18; 24:17). Fathers must not be executed for their sons, or sons for their fathers (Dt 24:16). No innocent blood must be shed (Dt 19:10). To hang a man is to curse God (Dt 21:23). Even a war camp must respect the decencies, and excrement must be buried (23:10-14).

All these laws were either framed or re-formulated by ED. They round out the personality of the prophet-statesman Elisha, the friend of the poor, the widow, and the fatherless. To Elisha the religion of Yahweh is a religion of humaneness, righteousness, (Dt 25:13-15; 16:19,20) and decency. He has devoted his entire life to propagating and humanizing this religion and combatting the sensual, corrupt, and brutal religion of the Tyrian Baal propagated by Queen Jezebel and the host of prophets and priests at her disposal. Therefore, ED begins his code with invective against these agitators, demanding that drastic measures be taken against them.

The assumption that ED was the work of Elisha is corroborated by quite different evidence: The Hebrew writers carefully distinguish between the two phrases "sheep and cattle" and "cattle and sheep." The first phrase means that sheep breeding was the more important occupation, the second, cattle breeding. Before the time of Solomon, the Hebrews were generally sheep breeders. Therefore the narrators of the tenth and ninth centuries (J,E,Pn), in describing the Hebrews of the patriarchal and pre-monarchic period, the petty king of Gerar, or the Egyptian peasants, use the phrase "sheep and cattle" (Gen 12:16; 13:5; 20:14; 21:27; 24:35; 26:14; 32:8; 33:13; 34:28; 45:10; 46:32; 47:1,17; 50:8; Ex 10:9,24; 12:32,38; 20:24; 34:3; Nu 11:22; 31:32,33,43,44—the last three Pn; see pp. 130, 217). Only the plague which afflicted all the beasts of Egypt took toll of "cattle and sheep" (Ex 9:3). Amalek in Saul's days had only "sheep and cattle" (1 Sam 15:9,14). The rich Nabal had only flocks (1 Sam 25); the rich man in Nathan's fable had "sheep and cattle" (2 Sam 12:4). Solomon's luxurious court, of course, possessed "cattle and sheep" (1 Ki 5:3; 8:63).¹

1. 1 Ki 8 contains three records concerning Solomon's slaughtering of animals:

a) 8:5aa,ac,ad,ba—Solomon and his invited guests sacrifice sheep and cattle before the Ark (when it is placed in the temple).

In the Northern Kingdom, there were more cattle breeders than in the poorer hilly country of Judah. It is no wonder that ED always has "cattle and sheep" (Dt 12:6,21;14:23,26;15:19), while JD has "sheep and cattle" (Dt 12:17, JD, is a repetition of the preceding v. 6 ED; but 16:2 is an independent contribution by JD). Only when describing a highly prosperous future (Dt 8:13) does JD have "cattle and sheep." In the south it is Hilkiah, with his rich sacrificial cult, only possible where there is large-scale cattle breeding, who has standardized the phrase, "cattle and sheep" (Lev 1:2, 4,10;3:1,6;22:21;27:32; Nu 15:3; 31:28,30, all PC).

Why is ED's pen so familiar with "cattle and sheep"? Certainly Samaria was like "fat cows" (Amos 4:1), but if ED were a poor shepherd and lived among the poorer classes or in Judah, he would have put it differently. The true answer is that the author of ED was a rich cattle breeder himself and habitually thought in terms of "cattle and sheep." Elisha, as we know from 1 Ki 19:19, was indeed a rich cattle breeder. This fact makes it highly probable that Elisha was the author of ED.

In editing the book of the Torah, ED was convinced that it contained "the words of the covenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the people of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them at Horeb" (Dt 28:69, Hebrew text). That is to say, the Torah of the Moab Covenant completes and does not abrogate the Torah of the Horeb Covenant as laid down in the Covenant Code. The legal material which ED used originated in the Torah of the Elders, the Torah of the Priests, and the Torah of the Prophets. ED considered himself only as the editor, not the creator, of these materials, which were supposed to go back all the way to the first great Hebrew legislator Moses. Even

b) 8:62,63b—The King and Israel offer sacrifice before Yahweh and dedicate the temple.

c) 8:63a—Solomon's peace offerings are 20,000 cattle and 120,000 sheep. These may be dated as:

a) an old record. The amount was modest; therefore, "sheep and cattle." Verses 5ab,bb are a later addition.

b) No details, hence an old record.

c) A fantastic figure, a post-Solomonic glorification of Solomon's wealth—therefore, "cattle and sheep."

When the Moabite King Balak wanted to appease the deity by an abundance of victims, N uses the term "cattle and sheep" (Nu 22:40). Balak sacrificed three times seven bulls and seven rams.

when ED reformulated many laws, as he actually did, it was not in a spirit of opposition to the covenants of Moses, but in full harmony with the spirit of Mosaic legislation.

Re-edition, re-interpretation, even re-adaptation of old laws by a prophet who was a spokesman of Yahweh, were considered to be forgeries only "if the prophet or dreamer spoke of turning away from Yahweh your God" (Dt 13:6, Hebrew text). But the idea of fundamentalism was foreign to ED, JD, and even PC. The injunction, "you shall not add to it or take from it" (Dt 13:1, Hebrew text), which may come from ED, is directed against substantial changes, not against formal alterations or rearrangements of texts. Two instances will confirm this view:

This injunction, as we know from other codes of the ancient world, could originally have been placed only at the beginning or at the end of a code. Consequently, the code of ED must have started at Deuteronomy 13:1. The ordinances dealing with legitimate and illegitimate altars and the permission to slaughter without sacrificing originally followed chapter 13. The ED sections of chapter 14 (21ff.) also deal with food. Thus, ED began with the subject nearest to his heart: the eradication of agitation for idolatry. For JD, however, the most important objective was to limit the sacrificial cult to one legitimate sanctuary. So JD placed a largely expanded chapter 12 before chapter 13. This is proof that there was no objection to the rearrangement of texts.

As for re-edition, re-interpretation, and re-adaptation, the Ten Commandments are a case in point. There can be no doubt that the first five commandments were originally as succinct and unmotivated as the second five commandments. All the rationales use the term "Yahweh your God," which is a cliché in Deuteronomy but completely absent from the other books (Leviticus only uses the solemn "I am Yahweh your God." See pp. 47, 70 and 71). It is extremely improbable that JD corrected all the "Yahwehs" of ED. So we must assume that this feature was introduced by ED. Hence, the introduction to the decalogue originally read: "I am Yahweh. You shall have no other gods before me." The next verse, prohibiting every kind of image, must have been interpolated, for the verse that follows refers to gods in the plural and not to a singular image: "You shall not bow down to them or serve them." Even

here we may assume that "or serve them" may have been an expansion or re-interpretation, of "bow down." The prohibition of all images, as we know from Deuteronomy 4:10-24, was one of the chief aims of the iconoclastic reforms of Hezekiah. Hence, this passage was interpolated by JD. The rationale that follows, "For I Yahweh your God am a passionate God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation," makes sense as an injunction against idolatry. It is the common experience for a wicked person to exert a pernicious influence upon his children or children's children during his lifetime. But what follows next is irrelevant in this context. The fact that God shows steadfast love to the thousands of those who love him and keep his commandments does not strengthen the reason for not serving other gods. Probably the words beginning "of those who hate me" were interpolated as well. Since the terms "to love God" and "to keep his commandments" are clichés in JD, and never occur in ED, they were added by JD, who took exception to the belief that God punished sons for their fathers' sins. Hence JD added that God punishes the children of the wicked only if they too are wicked, not if they are good.

The commandment regarding the Sabbath must have begun in Deuteronomy as it does in Exodus with "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." The word *shamor* (observe) may have come in erroneously through a copyist who copied the preceding *sh'mo* (his name) twice. "Remember" is characteristic of JD (Dt 24:9; 25:17; Ex 13:3), and may be attributed to the desire to give the Sabbath a more religious character. ED had only specified and added as rationale "You, your son and daughter, your male and female slave, your cattle, and the sojourner who is in your gates, that your male or female slave may rest like you." This passage is in the style of ED (Dt 16:11,14). The remembrance of Egypt (Dt 5:15) is a cliché of JD's and was added by him.

The Hezekian edition of the Pentateuch—that is, the present text without PC—re-adapted the Exodus text of the decalogue to the Ephraimite text of Deuteronomy. But it encountered difficulties in finding a common rationale for the Sabbath rest. The Jerusalemite text had the addition, inserted by Pn, "For Yahweh made the whole universe and rested on the seventh day, therefore he blessed the

Sabbath day and hallowed it" (Ex 20:11). This verse could not be deleted. So we are left with two rationales for the Sabbath, a historical-sociological one in Deuteronomy 5 and a cosmic-religious one in Exodus 20.

There is no doubt that the Ten Commandments was the most sacred text in both ED (Dt 5:20-25, Hebrew text) and JD (Dt 4:10-20). That did not prevent their re-édition, re-interpretation and re-adaptation. The same was true of the other texts of the Mosaic legislation. Only prophets, judges, and leading priests (Dt 17:9-11; 18:15) were authorized to re-edit, re-interpret or re-adapt the sacred text.

In Deuteronomy 31:9, ED states, "And Moses wrote this Torah and gave it to the elders," and goes on to prescribe that it should be read to the whole people every seventh year on the Feast of Booths. This, of course, could refer only to the blessings and curses which preceded the statement about the writing of the Torah in ED, and not to the whole Deuteronomy of ED. Chapters 29:1-31:8 were added after ED. These blessings and curses were to be inscribed on the big stones at the altar near Shechem (Dt 27:8); they were written by Moses to be read before the whole people. JD corrects this statement by saying that Moses gave the Torah to the Levitical priests and the elders. The Levitical priests in Jerusalem were in charge of the entire written Torah, from which the king was to copy. Deuteronomy 17:19 explicitly states: "This Torah and all these laws"—proving that "this Torah" alone means a specific Torah, not the whole book of Deuteronomy.

In chapter 31:22, JD records that Moses wrote his song the same day, and taught it to the people of Israel. In paraphrasing the song (Dt 31:16-21), the recorder is fully aware that it does not so much reflect the Mosaic period as it does a much later period, perhaps his own, which witnessed the catastrophe of the fall of Samaria. He may have come across the song among many others; realizing that Israel had suffered the very fate described in the song, he assumed that none but the great prophet Moses could have been its author. In the absence of any denial of this supposition, the Hezekian edition accepted the song as authentically Mosaic. Since the editors were neither modern scholars nor archeologists, they can be assumed to have acted in good faith, according to their lights.

If our analysis of Deuteronomy is correct, the history of the Fifth Book of Moses may have been something like this: The reign of Ahab and his two sons in the Northern Kingdom of Israel (874-841) witnessed a religious crisis in Israel. Queen Jezebel, Ahab's wife, wanted the religion of the Tyrian Baal to dominate the religion of Yahweh. The religious civil war ended with the overthrow of the house of Ahab and the reign of the house of Jehu, the military commander, who carried the day with a military coup. After 841 the religion of Yahweh was again the only recognized religion of Northern Israel. The spiritual leader of the new government was the prophet-statesman Elisha, the head of the prophetic guild and the successor to Elijah.

Since the old Covenant Code, which was published under the auspices of the Ephraimite Samuel and re-edited under the united monarchy, was no longer in keeping with the social, economic and religious needs of the time, Elisha edited a second Covenant Code. That was ED, a code and brief outline, consisting of a re-adaptation of the old Covenant Code and collections of other laws: the Torah of the Elders, the Torah of the Priests, and the Torah of the Prophets. These laws in turn were all based on older laws partly re-adapted to meet the needs of the time. This second Mosaic Code was recognized as supplementing the first Mosaic Code.

After the fall of Samaria (722) or shortly before, along with other sacred writings this code came to Jerusalem. Under the rule of the scholarly king Hezekiah, this Deuteronomy was adapted to the king's religious policy. Afraid of suffering a fate similar to that of Samaria, the spiritual leaders of Jerusalem wanted to extirpate all the vestiges of paganism—all the images, symbols and customs of the surrounding pagan nations. All local shrines were to be done away with. Jerusalem was to be the only national sanctuary. Jerusalem's miraculous escape at the time of the Assyrian (701) may have contributed greatly to the belief that it was the residence of Yahweh, the God-chosen city. The new enlarged and revised Jerusalemite edition of the Deuteronomic code and outline (JD) was in the custody of the Jerusalemite priests (Dt 17:18). There was not much time to copy and circulate it. In 606 King Manasseh came to the throne. He detested the Hezekian ways and was supported by all those who had suffered under the new regulations, especially

the large number of rural priests and the conservative rural population who wanted to return to their local shrines and customs. King Manasseh returned to the syncretist policy of King Ahaz, which assimilated Yahwism to the religion of the Assyrian power.

The Jerusalemite priests who were in charge of the book saved it by hiding it. They may have hoped for the advent of a new king who would be loyal to the religion of Yahweh, as Hezekiah had been. King Manasseh reigned fifty-five years, and his son Amon another two years. Seventy-five years after Manasseh became king, in 621, the book was discovered under young King Josiah, who followed King Hezekiah's ways. King Josiah had probably been educated by the Jerusalemite priests led by Hilkiah. Nobody in that generation had ever seen such a book before, even if he had heard of its existence. After the temple prophetess Huldah had recognized the book as authentic, it was named a veritable Godsend and as such influenced the religious policy of the king.

The book cannot have been written in the time of Manasseh or later, as a kind of underground reform program. For its reform ideas are only grafted onto an older document; if it were a true reform program, the book would have been known to priest and prophet. According to 2 Kings 22, the book was unknown. 2 Kings 22 must have been written before Josiah's death because it concludes with Huldah's prophecy that Josiah would die in peacetime. As a matter of fact, he died in 608 in battle.

The newly discovered book could not have been written by the high priest Hilkiah himself, or by another contemporary priest, for the Jerusalemite priests, as we know from 2 Kings 23:9, did not allow the priests of the local shrines to serve the same functions as the Jerusalemite priests, in contrast to Deuteronomy 18:6-8. If a rural priest had written the book, as suggested by Hempel, Bentzen, and others, the Jerusalemite priests would not have accepted it without adapting it to their urban priestly interests.

Presumably the code and the outline were enlarged and revised by a "royal commission" set up by King Hezekiah, the "men around Hezekiah" (Prov 25:1), composed of officials, priests, and prophets. King Hezekiah was a scholar himself. He must have been educated by Isaiah, for the prophet expected him to become a second Solomon, a prince of wisdom, justice, and peace (Is 9:5-6;

11:1-5). Hence he would be able to curb the unfair and selfish claims of the Jerusalemite priesthood, in contrast to King Josiah, who was strongly influenced by the Jerusalemite priests (2 Ki 22:4, 12, 13) and followed Hilkiah's advice. Hence, the Hezekian Deuteronomy realistically combines the royal, priestly, and prophetic interests and ideals of that time: Jerusalem sanctioned as a political and religious center; the claims of the urban and rural priests compromised; and the spirit of the prophetic religion emphatically recognized.

Early Annotators

THE PRIESTLY NARRATOR

Nearly all critical scholars believe in the existence of P as distinct from J, E, and D. But they widely dissent in their interpretation of P. What is P? Is it an originally independent source document, a compiler, a priestly school ranging over centuries, a stratum, a style, a symbol? Are there many P's—Pg, Ph, Ps, Po, etc. (Kautzsch), older and newer strata of priestly collections? A close study of P has convinced the author that there was no originally independent P source document from which the priestly redactors of the sixth or fifth century B.C.E. compiled and incorporated material into the Pentateuch or Hexateuch. The symbol P means two different things: the priestly narrator or southern Elohist (Pn) and the Priestly Code (PC). Both are annotations of the sacred writings by great priestly authorities. Pn is the pre-Deuteronomic annotator of the sacred J document, who probably wrote in Jerusalem in the ninth century. PC, however, is the generally legislating annotator of the Hezekian edition of the Pentateuch and of the book of Joshua. PC not only introduced the whole corpus of priestly legislation, but also revised (by annotation) such older important accounts as those of manna (Ex 16), the spies (Nu 13;14), Korah's revolt (Nu 16;17), Moses at Meriba (Nu 20), Baal Peor (Nu 25), vengeance on Midian (Nu 31), and Reuben and Gad's demands (Nu 32). An analysis of these stories follows below on pp. 124, 125; 166-169; 19-20; 170; 171; 130; 173; 174.

Except for some enlargement or rearrangement (see pp. 20, 194), neither Pn nor PC altered the traditional sacred text. They did not abbreviate any texts, preferring to introduce additions which often changed the meaning of the text, as, for instance, in the accounts of

Korah and of the blossoming rod. The peculiar, readily identifiable style of P was created by Pn, and enlarged and developed by his priestly successors culminating in Hilkiah, the editor of PC.

Pn differs both in character and outlook from PC, although they had some traits in common. Pn is a numerologist, cosmologist, genealogist, chronologist, statistician, legalist, and formalist. He admires size and material wealth, expatiates on contracts and covenants, and strives for perfection.

Thus, Pn is very fond of the number ten. The phrase, "God said," occurs ten times during the account of the Creation (Gen 1). Ten generations from Adam to Noah are paralleled by ten generations from Shem to Abraham (Gen 5 and 11). In Genesis, Pn uses the unique phrase, "These are the generations," ten times (Gen 2:4;5:1; 6:9;10:1;11:10;11:27;25:12,19;36:1;37:2—concerning universe, man, Noah, Noah's sons, Shem, Terah, Ishmael, Isaac, Esau, Jacob). The passage, "These are the generations of Aaron and Moses," (Nu 3:1) is now embedded in PC, but must have been older and may have been taken from an oral tradition originating in Pn. In Numbers 14:22, Pn notes that the people murmured against Moses ten times. This may refer to the following places: Exodus 5:2off (in Egypt), 14:10ff. (at the sea), 15:24ff. (at Marah), 16:2 (at the wilderness of Sin), 16:20 (when collecting manna), 17:3ff. (at Rephidim), 32:1ff. (at Mount Sinai), Numbers 11:1 (at Taberah), 11:4ff. (at Kibroth hatta'avah), 14:1ff. (after the spies' report).

It is noteworthy that of these passages eight are ascribable to the J document and two to Pn (Ex 16:2,16:20)—which proves that Pn was not an independent source, but only an annotator of the J document.

PC, on the other hand, makes no attempt at numerological play even when stressing a point by conscious repetition. The phrases "uncover the nakedness" in Leviticus 18, "if a man" in Leviticus 20, and "I am Yahweh" or "I am Yahweh your God" in Leviticus 19 do not recur in any number of times to which we can ascribe magical significance.

Pn is a man who uses stereotypes of blessings and covenants. His blessings: "Be fruitful and multiply" (Gen 1:22;8:17—animals; 1:28—man; 9:1,7—Noah; 17:5,6—Abraham; 17:20—Ishmael; 28:3—Isaac to Jacob; 35:11—God to Jacob). This formula is referred to only once in PC ("I will make you fruitful and multiply you,"—Lev 26:9).

Pn's covenants: God makes a covenant with Noah (Genesis 9:8-17), with Abraham (17:1-14), Isaac (17:19,21) and Jacob (Ex 6:3, 4). In Exodus 24:3-8, it is Pn who records the blood ritual of the solemn covenant between God, Moses, and the people. (See pp. 120-122.)

Pn has a high regard for the acquisition of wealth. In Genesis 12:5, he notes that "Abraham and Lot took all their possessions which they had gathered." In Genesis 13:6b, he explains that Abraham and Lot could not dwell together, because "their possessions were too great." In Genesis 14:16, the J document had originally: "And he brought back his kinsman Lot and the women and the people as well." Pn enlarged the sentence to: "And he brought back *all the goods*, and also brought back his kinsman Lot *with his goods* and the women and the people." This enlarged text makes for a very awkward reading. In Genesis 15:14, Pn added to the oracle describing the future enslavement of Abraham's descendants in a foreign country, the clause, "And afterwards they shall come out with great possessions."

All of the above-mentioned additions by Pn use the word "*r'chush*" (possession), a word never used by J, E, or D, and only once by PC (Nu 35:3). It is one of Pn's favorite words. In Genesis 14:21 the original Yahwist document must have read "*qach 'asher lach*" ("take that which is yours") as in verse 23. The *r'chush* of our present text came from verse 16 or was inserted by Pn. In Exodus 12:37,38, Pn added two characteristic verses: "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand men on foot, besides women and children. A mixed multitude also went up with them, and very many herds, sheep, and cattle." In this passage Pn is informing us of the vast numbers of the Hebrews and the extent of their possessions, as well as of the itinerary and the number of the non-Hebrews who followed them. All these figures are fantastic. Pn has a predilection for extravagant figures, as we know from Genesis 5 and 11 and from the extreme age which he attributes to the patriarchs from Abraham to Joseph, as well as to the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of Moses (Ex 6:16-20). To Pn, longevity as well as material wealth is a quality of human greatness.

Pn believed that when God created man he created him in the pattern of divine beings—physically and morally strong—and that

his degeneration had come about gradually. The last of these primeval supermen was Noah, who lived 950 years (Gen 9:29), only nineteen years less than Methuselah, his grandfather (Gen 5:27). Jacob complained to Pharaoh, according to Pn, that his 130 years "have not attained to the days of the years of the life of my fathers" (Gen 47:9). Pn relates that Abraham died at 175 (Gen 25:7), Isaac at 180 (Gen 35:28). Moses attained 120 years, his father Amram 137, his grandfather Kohath 133, and his great-grandfather Levi 137 (Ex 6:16ff.). Apparently, Jehoiada himself, whom I identify with Pn (see pp. 133, 134) was a man of great vitality and had a long life. According to 2 Chronicles 24:15, he died when at the age of 130. This is not an absolute physical impossibility but an improbable exaggeration.¹ It may also be proof that Jehoiada was one of the few people who in those days kept count of their age.² Apart from the Hexateuch and references to a few kings, the Hebrew Bible does not record age at death. All the records of this kind in the Hexateuch are ascribable to the same author (Job 42:16 imitates Genesis)—that is, Pn. All his figures are speculative, the fruit of his time-and-number-obsessed imagination. The statement that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt for 430 years (Ex 12:40) is Pn's, as the dates of the Flood and the dates in Exodus 16:1 and 19:1. All the historical records confirm that the fourth generation of the Hebrews returned from Egypt to Canaan, as correctly noted in Genesis 15:16 in an annotation by E, as the term "Amorite" implies. The old Yahwist oracle, written by the priestly revisor of the Yahwist nucleus (see p. 155) was annotated by E and Pn. Pn added "400 years" in verse 13. E and Pn, who wrote during the same period, E in Samaria and Pn in Jerusalem, did not know of each other's contribution. The Hezekian edition, copying both versions, preserved both statements without alteration.

The two census lists in Numbers 1 and 26, both based on a total of about 600,000, may also stem from Pn, for it is he who gives this fantastic figure in Exodus 12:37. Pn also added Numbers 11:21-23 to the basic Yahwist document to explain how such a large multi-

1. According to 2 Kings 12:3, Jehoiada died during the forty-year reign of Jehoash. If Jehoiada died at the age of 130, he must have been nearly 100 years old when he overthrew Athaliah and became teacher of Jehoash.

2. In 2 Samuel 19:33 (Hebrew text), "Barzillai was a very old man, eighty years old," the number of years is probably a later gloss.

tude could have been supplied with meat in the wilderness. Verse 24a is the natural sequel of verse 20; both belong to the Yahwist nucleus.

Hilkiah (PC) may have found these census lists among the material taught in the priestly school of Jerusalem. Never doubting their authenticity, he incorporated the lists in his edition of the Pentateuch. Apart from the two census lists, the number-obsession, characteristic of Pn, is absent from PC.

The account of the Creation and Pn's commentary on the Flood story show his preoccupation with the cosmic forces, their origins and their purposes. Pn distinguished between light, water, air, and earth as inorganic forces, and life in all its various forms on the land, in the water, and in the air. The inorganic forces were older than the organic, and mankind was the highest and latest of God's creations.

There are various possible ways of creating something new. A sword can split a body into two. A mother bears and brings forth a child. An artist or craftsman can take some raw material and mold it into a new form. A ruler can command his servants to produce a desired object. The various mythologies of the ancient world made use of all these alternatives to explain the creation of the gods of sky, earth, sea, and wind. In Babylonia it was believed that the gigantic sea monster had been split by the sword of Marduk. The upper body became sky, the lower body earth. The Phoenicians believed that a world egg hatched all things.

The Yahwist narrator imagined Yahweh as an artistic craftsman, who took up some earth, shaped it, as a potter or sculptor does, and breathed the breath of life into its nostrils. He worked alone, unaided. To Pn, Elohim commanded his divine attendants, water and air, who co-existed with him (Gen 1:2), to produce light. He regarded the product, and it was good. Then God separated the light from the darkness. On the second day he separated the upper water from the lower water, by spreading the sky like a cover between them. Next he set apart the water from the dry land, thus creating the sea and the earth. Then he fixed lights in the sky like large candlesticks, and commanded water, earth, and air to produce life, each in its own way and after its own kind. The final act was the creation of man, in which all created substances took part: light, air, water, earth, and life. The whole creation was judged to be

good and useful. Man as its culmination combined all the virtues of the created substances. He was perfect, like the Creator in whose image he was formed.

Before long, however, the creation degenerated. Man became violent. Noah remained the only righteous and blameless man. The flood came, causing the earth to revert to water, as it had been before the creation. After a year passed, the flood ceased and God made a covenant with Noah, a kind of compromise concerning the shedding of blood. Man was henceforth allowed to kill animals, but not to kill other men, nor to drink blood. He who kills a man, shall have his own blood shed. For blood is the source of vitality and personality.

Blood plays a large role in Pn's philosophy and religion. He regards man as a wanderer (Gen 47:9), who must walk before God and be blameless (Gen 17:1)—that is, suffer for God's sake, as Abraham did, who underwent circumcision at the age of ninety-nine. It was because Abraham had passed the blood test of circumcision at so advanced an age that he became the Father of Israel. Similarly, the Levites proved their zeal for Yahweh by shedding the blood of their nearest kinsmen who worshiped the idol at Mount Sinai. According to Pn, the Levites became the priestly tribe of Israel because they had performed this selfless service of blood. Deuteronomy 33:8,9 refers to the same event. Pn also justifies the fanaticism of the tribes of Levi and Simeon which led them to put to the sword the Shechemites because Shechem had defiled Dinah, Jacob's daughter (Gen 34). Pn transforms Shechem's honorable courtship into an act of brutal rape, in order to justify the violent mass retaliation of Dinah's brothers, adding verses 2b,5,7,13ab,b,14aa, 27-29,31. A complete analysis is to be found in B.o.B. pp. 163-65.

In contrast to PC, Pn records only historical events, or events which he thought were historical, rather than laws. Few of his narrations touch on matters concerning cult and worship. First Pn describes the first Passover (Ex 12:1,3-13), emphasizing: "The blood (on the posts and thresholds) shall be a sign for you, upon the houses where you are; and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and no plague shall fall upon you to destroy you when I smite the land of Egypt" (v. 13). Pn regards the blood ritual as the central element in this ceremony. It is Pn also who describes the covenant among God, Moses, and Israel at Mount Sinai as a solemn

blood ritual: "And Moses took half of the blood (of the victims) and put it in basins, and half of the blood he threw against the altar. . . . Then Moses took the blood and threw it on the people, and said: 'Behold the blood of the covenant which Yahweh has made with you in accordance with all these words'" (Ex 24:6-8). Pn also describes the undrinkable water of the first plague as turning into blood (see p. 230).

Pn's other special concern is with the sanctification of the weekly Sabbath. We do not know how much of the story of creation originated in Pn's mind. Certainly he did a great deal to de-mythologize the ancient tales. But apparently the ten words of creation, and the connection between the Sabbath and Creation are the product of Pn's pen. The weekly Sabbath of the Hebrews was an early institution in the religion of Yahweh, whose intent was to supersede the popular pagan vestiges of the monthly or semi-monthly new moon and full moon Sabbaths (see pp. 36-39). In the worship of Yahweh Zebaoth, the Lord of Hosts, Yahweh was the creator of sun, moon, and stars. Pn's account of Creation was an attempt to eradicate the pagan belief in sun, moon, and star gods. Consequently, Pn converted the pagan moon Sabbath into a Yahwist cosmic Sabbath, in which the week, day, month, and year were all the cosmic parts of a single divine design. The Creator sanctified the week because his creation had taken exactly one week, consisting of six days of work and one day of rest.

Pn relates that the Israelites first heard of the new weekly Sabbath during the period when they were gathering manna. God made it clear to Israel that the Sabbath was a cosmic institution by giving them a double portion of manna on Friday, to compensate for the absence of manna on Saturday. Pn also added the reference to the creation that appears in the fourth commandment (Ex 20: 11): "For in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them, and rested on the seventh day. Therefore Yahweh blessed the Sabbath and hallowed it." This rationale for the Sabbath was introduced, of course, only into the southern, and not into the northern version. Even the Hezekian edition, which later combined the two versions, did not introduce this rationale into the northern text, because it already had another rationale for the weekly Sabbath: "that your male and female slave should rest as well as you" (Dt 5:14).

Pn must be pre-Deuteronomic. Pn repeatedly stresses the importance of the old Judahite sanctuary of Hebron, where Abraham, Isaac, and even Jacob lived (Gen 35:27). The three patriarchs and Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, were buried in the cave of Machpelah (Gen 49:31). Genesis 23 describes the purchase of this patriarchal burial place in full detail. These accounts go back to a period when Jerusalem had not yet become the only sanctuary in Judah that it later became under Hezekiah.

Pn also informs us that Jacob "set up a pillar in the place where He had spoken with him; and he poured out a drink offering on it, and poured oil on it" (Gen 35:14). This passage is part of a section which shows all the characteristics of P (v. 9-15). Compare its phrasing with those of the uncontested P passages: verses 17:5, 7,22;28:1-4. J and E are excluded, because they transmit different traditions about Bethel (Gen 28:10-22) and the manner in which Jacob's name was changed to Israel (Gen 32). Since the Hezekian edition of Deuteronomy forbade the erection of pillars (Dt 16:22), Pn must have written this passage before the Hezekian period. The Covenant blood ritual in Exodus 24:3-7 can also only be attributed to Pn, for it presupposes a priestly, rather than a prophetic author, thus excluding the Northern Elohist. The text has been interpolated into an old Yahwist record (Ex 24:1,2,9-11). In Genesis, Pn repeatedly stresses the idea of divine covenants which God made with Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. According to the northern Elohist, it was God who inscribed the commandments on tables (Ex 32:16), and not Moses who wrote them down in a book (Ex 24:4). Pn informs us further that Moses set up pillars at the foot of the mountain where he had built an altar—this indicates a pre-Deuteronomic author.

That Pn is pre-Deuteronomic may also be concluded from the fact that he stresses that God made man in the image of an Elohim (Gen 1:26,27;5:1,3). God made this man-Elohim in company with other Elohim ("We shall make"). Deuteronomy 4 enjoins against such a conception of God, who has no shape or sex, nor any image or likeness (v. 16). Since Pn's conception of God becoming wearied and resting from his labors on the seventh day was offensive to the Hezekian Deuteronomy, it kept the northern reference to the Exodus as the rationale for the weekly Sabbath, rather than referring

to Pn's rationale of the creation (Dt 5:15). The Priestly Code mentions the divine rest only once (Ex 31:17) when quoting an ancient liturgical formula (Ex 16:17) based on Pn's creation story (cf. Gen 2:1-3).

All of the so-called P portions in the Genesis narratives are to be attributed to Pn. Unlike the Priestly Code (PC), Pn narrates, but does not legislate. In Genesis 17, God makes a covenant with Abraham, to whose descendants He promises the land of Canaan, stipulating the rite of circumcision as a token of the covenant. Verse 13b, "And My covenant shall be in your flesh an everlasting covenant," originally followed verse 11: "And you shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a sign of a covenant between Me and you." Verses 12, 13a, 14 are legislative details which interrupt the continuity, and were added by PC. The same is true of verse 27, for the statement that foreigners are not to be circumcised is alien to the original spirit of the covenant. Pn stressed that Abraham performed circumcision on himself at the age of ninety-nine, and circumcised Ishmael at the age of thirteen—hence the provision that the circumcision was to take place on the eighth day after the birth of the male child is out of place in this context and must have been a later addition (by PC).

Of Exodus 12:1-20, the first section contains *ad hoc* legislation (v. 1-13) on the first Passover, and is to be attributed to Pn. The second section, verses 15-20, which describes the Mazzoth festival as a permanent institution connected with the Passover date, is a PC addition, as are verses 2 and 14. Characteristic of Pn are the central importance ("sign") of the blood rite (cf. Ex 24:8), the punishing of the gods of Egypt (cf. Ex 6:6), and both the term and concept of "according to every man's eating" (v. 4), cf. Exodus 16:16, which must also be Pn. However, characteristic of PC are such phrases as, "The soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel," and "a sojourner or a native," both frequent in Leviticus. Contrast, for example, the prohibition of consuming blood in Genesis 9:4-6 (Pn) and that of PC (Lev 17:10-16). Pn never uses the two characteristic PC phrases cited above. The Passover legislation in Exodus 12:43-50 has all the earmarks of PC, and is different in attitude and style from Pn's Exodus 12:1-13.

The divergences in style and outlook between Pn and PC can

best be studied in highly composite chapters like Exodus 16. The Yahwist nucleus relates this about the manna:

In the morning, dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew had gone up, there was on the face of the wilderness a fine, flake-like thing, fine as hoarfrost on the ground. When they¹ saw it, they said to one another, "What is it?" For they did not know what it was (v. 13b, 14, 15a). Morning after morning they gathered it, each as much as he could eat; but when the sun grew hot, it melted (v. 21). And they called its name manna; it was like coriander seed, white, and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey (v. 31).

This is a picturesque description of a natural phenomenon, which the author must have known from his own experience or have heard about from others.

Pn expanded this story by adding verses 1-5, which indicates the date and place. The people complain of the lack of meat they were accustomed to eat in Egypt. God promises to rain bread from heaven, one portion every day and two portions on Friday. In verse 8, God promises to give them meat every night and sufficient bread every morning. In verse 13a, at night the quails come up. In verses 15-20, the people gather the manna unequally but they have equal portions. The next morning the manna has worms and is inedible. In verses 22-26, the double portion on Friday is intended for the Sabbath as well; though kept for two days it would not have worms. In verse 30, the people rest on the seventh day. In 35a, they eat the manna for forty years, until they come to an inhabited land.

In Pn's hands, the manna story has become a miraculous proof of God's power and devotion to Israel. The account also shows that God himself keeps the Sabbath rest. We must remember that it is the same writer Pn who tells us the story of the Creation in six days and God's rest on the Sabbath in Genesis 1.

The Hezekian editor uses this occasion as he has used others to enjoin Israel against forgetting the commandments. Remembering the disloyalty of the northern tribes, which had led to the fall of Samaria, he notes:

And on the seventh day some of the people went out to gather

1. "the children of Israel" is secondary as "the House of Israel" in Exodus 16:31.

manna and they found none. Then God said to Moses: "How long do you refuse to keep my commandments and my laws? See that Yahweh has given you the Sabbath; therefore on the sixth day he gives you bread of two days; remain every man of you in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day" (v. 27-29).

Such a reminder to the ungrateful and disloyal people is in full harmony with the tenor of the Hezekian Deuteronomy (JD). (See Dt 1:26;9:7,23.)

The fact that the hortatory Deuteronomic additions presuppose the passages which are ascribed to Pn proves that Pn must have been a pre-Deuteronomic writer, as this author assumes.

The rest of Exodus 16 was added by the Josian editor (PC). Verses 6,7,9,10 indicate that God gave the Israelites meat in the evening so that they might realize that Yahweh had brought them out of Egypt; and in the morning they were to see the glory of God, in order to remember who it was who had given them their daily bread in the desert. The term "the glory of God" is characteristic of PC (Ex 24:17;40:35;Lev 9:23; Nu 14:10;17:7).

Exodus 16:32-34 records how Moses told Aaron to preserve an omer of manna in a jar for future generations. Aaron "laid it up" before the testimony—that is before the stone tables that were in the Ark (Ex 25:21 PC). The term "tables of testimony" is only used by PC. Exodus 31:18, written by the priestly revisor of the Yahwist nucleus (see p. 233), originally had only: "And he gave to Moses two tables of stone, written with the finger of God." The words "tables of testimony" were added by PC, who also added the words "of testimony" in Exodus 32:15a. The phrase, "the two tables of testimony," also occurs in Exodus 31:18. There we read: "And he gave to Moses, when he had made an end of speaking with him upon Mount Sinai, the two tables of the testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God." The verse is overloaded. The original narrator said only: "And he gave to Moses the two tables of stone, written with the finger of God." PC inserted "when he had made an end of speaking with him on Mount Sinai" in order to include Exodus 25-Lev 27 as part of the revelation which was revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. The same PC also added the words "tables of the testimony."

The two interpolations into the manna story introduced by the

Hezekian and Josian editors indicate the diversity of their outlook. The Hezekian editors represent for the most part the prophetic views. They try to improve the people's behavior by chastizing them. The Josian editors, on the other hand, represent for the most part the priestly views. They try to teach the people by dramatizing God's majesty and His goodness. Hence they say: "Come near before Yahweh, for he has heard your murmurings" (Ex 16:9). "And then they looked toward the wilderness, and behold, the glory of Yahweh appeared in the cloud" (10). The Josian editors know that people prefer pageantry to sermons.

The Josian editors further realized that the purely negative prohibition of divine images advocated by the Hezekian editors was not sufficient. It re-paganized the people instead of de-paganizing it. People want to see God, not only to hear Him or about Him. So the Josian priests elaborated the rich ritual of the tabernacle. There "the Voice spoke unto Moses from above the mercy seat that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim" (Nu 7:89). And in solemn moments "a cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of Yahweh filled the tabernacle" (Ex 40:34). When Moses and Aaron left the tent of meeting and blessed the people, "the glory of Yahweh appeared to all the people. And there came fire from Yahweh and consumed the burnt offering and the fat upon the altar; and when all the people saw it, they shouted and fell on their faces" (Lev 9:23,24).

The same PC added the following passage to the old Yahwist nucleus: "And the cloud covered the mountain. The glory of Yahweh settled on Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days; and on the seventh day, he called to Moses out of the midst of the cloud. Now the appearance of the glory of Yahweh was like a devouring fire on the top of the mountain in the sight of the people of Israel" (Ex 24:15b-17).

The glory of God was not the sunshine radiating on the cherubim and illuminating the Holy of the Holies, as Morgenstern assumes, but an enormous lightning storm that miraculously occurred at the right moment either to encourage or to threaten the people. So we read in Numbers 17:7 (Hebrew text) that when the people murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying, 'You have killed the people of Yahweh,' "they turned toward the tent of meeting; and behold, the cloud covered it, and the glory of Yahweh appeared."

This pageantry of the glory of Yahweh is Hilkiyah's ingenious device to make the awe-inspiring majesty of the unrepresentable deity visible to a people who wants to see the deity and not only to hear him. Pn's theophanies, however, are of a more sober kind: "God blessed the [first] man and woman and said to them . . ." (Gen 1:28); "God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them . . ." (Gen 9:1); "God [or Yahweh?] appeared to Abram and said to him . . ." (Gen 17:1); "God appeared to Jacob . . . and blessed him. And God said to him . . ." (Gen 35:9,10). "And God said to Moses, 'I am Yahweh. I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, as God Almighty . . .'" (Ex 6:2,3). No pageantry, no glory of God, only words, as in the story of the creation.

There are four narratives other than Exodus 16 of undoubtedly composite character which make it absolutely clear that PC elaborated and revised an older Pn story, so that the identification of PC and Pn must be definitely given up. These are: 1) the anti-leader revolt (Nu 16); 2) the blossoming rod (Nu 17:16-26, Hebrew text); 3) Moses' appointment of a successor (Nu 27:15-23); and 4) vengeance on Midian (Nu 25 and 31). The two first stories are analysed on pp. 19, 20. They show how skilfully PC manipulates an older text through slight additions to it. PC performs a similar *tour de force* with Numbers 27:15-23. The original text makes Joshua the successor of Moses and does not mention the priest Eleazar. This text includes: verses 18,20 (excluding "the whole congregation"), 21b,22 (to "Joshua"), 23. The rest was interpolated by PC, who subordinates the secular ruler to the spiritual authority of the priest Eleazar: "The priest shall inquire for him by the judgment of the Urim." In the pre-Josian period no king was subordinated to the judgment of the priests. The kings claimed the right of priesthood themselves. Not even the priest-regent Jehoiada would ever have been able to impose such a claim to priestly authority on a Jewish king. (See 2 Ki 11:17.) Nor can the insertion stem from a later, post-exilic period, for there were no Urim and Tummim during the second temple (Ezra 2:63). The only Jewish king who accepted the spiritual authority of a high priest was Josiah, who was probably educated by Hilkiyah. This textual revision aimed at strengthening the power of the leading priest in order to secure his far-reaching reforms.

The basic account of Moses' appointment of Joshua as his suc-

cessor cannot belong to the Yahwist stratum or to that of the Ephraimite E source. The E record is preserved in Deuteronomy 31:14,15,23. Originally it followed Numbers 32 (see p. 177). The J document (both the Yahwist nucleus and the priestly revisor) never uses the term "the children of Israel." This is one of the most reliable linguistic tests of the different documents (see p. 177). The J document invariably has either "the people" or "Israel." This remarkable fact may be explained in this way: The J document, which became the textbook for the literate class in the early Solomonic period, was the first to identify the name of "Israel" with the patriarch Jacob (Gen 32). The succeeding late-Solomonic generation began to call themselves *bene yisrael*, ("children of Israel") both in the North and in the South to indicate that they belonged to a united nation of common descent. This explains why the term "children of Israel" is to be found in the writings of all post-Solomonic authors, in the North as well as in the South, but never before Solomon's reign.

The tradition that the dying Moses appointed Joshua as his successor (Dt 31:14,15,23) was of Ephraimite origin; it was not recognized in Judahite circles during the early monarchy. As the old Judahite records (Nu 14:40-45; 21:1-3; Ju 1:1-21) indicate, the tribe of Judah invaded Canaan from the south and not, like the Ephraimite Joshua, from the east. The J document mentions Joshua only once, as the military commander in a battle fought against the Amalekites under Moses' leadership. (Ex 17).

The first Judahite source to mention Joshua outside of Exodus 17 is Pn, which makes him one of the twelve spies whom Moses sent to Canaan from the wilderness of Paran (Nu 13:8). Together with the Judahite Caleb, Joshua encourages the people to attempt an invasion (Nu 14:6). Thus Pn maintained the legend of a united Israel, not only in the times of Moses, but also in the times of his successor Joshua as well (Nu 27). When Moses made a covenant with Israel, Pn tells us, he erected twelve pillars "according to the twelve tribes of Israel" (Ex 24:4); when he sent spies to Canaan, he sent twelve spies.

The desire for a reunited Israel was, in the ninth century, as strong in the North as in the South. The northern Elohist who wrote the basic story of the invasion of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua also records that Joshua erected twelve stones taken

from the Jordan at Gilgal (Jos 4). ED also mentions twelve spies (Dt 1:23). From 1 Ki 22 we learn that there were friendly relations between the two kingdoms during the reign of Jehoshaphat (870-848). During this period, Elisha and Jehoiada, the presumptive authors of E and Pn respectively, passed their youth, the formative period of their lives. We cannot go wrong if we assume that there was an exchange of some traditions in those days among the loyal followers of Yahweh.

The fourth account written by Pn and revised by PC is that of the punitive campaign against the Midianites (Nu 31). To understand it we must go back to the account of the oracles of Balaam and to the events at Baal Peor. The Yahwist nucleus recorded that Balak, King of Moab, sent a messenger to Pethor near the Euphrates to ask the soothsayer Balaam to curse Israel. Balaam was a worshiper of Yahweh, and his God forbade him to curse this people. That is why he blessed it; for being loyal to his God, neither gold nor honors could corrupt him. This incorruptible non-Israelite seer praised Israel, foreseeing the golden age of the Davidic period. However, the priests in David's time who revised the book of the Yahwist master narrator took exception to this overfriendly picture of Balaam. They interpolated the episode with the angel (Nu 22:22-34) to show that Balaam did not act voluntarily but was forced by Yahweh to prophesy as he did. They also added the story of the whoring of the people with the daughters of Moab and the participation even of the leaders in the obscene sexual rites of Baal Peor.

Pn followed this line and made the Midianites the villains of the piece. According to Pn, Moab acted on the advice of the elders of Midian. Thus, Pn added "elders of Midian" in Numbers 22:7 and the whole of v. 4. In Numbers 25:16 he added: "And Yahweh said to Moses: 'Harass the Midianites and smite them; for they have harassed you with their wives, with which they beguiled you in the matter of Peor.'" Before Moses died, he was reminded of this punitive campaign against Midian (Nu 31).

Why did Pn hate Midian more than Moab? The answer must be found in personal experience. When Jehoiada was young, under the reign of Jehoshaphat, hordes of marauding peoples invaded Judah from the east and harassed the country (2 Chr 20:1,2). Unfortunately, the text in Chronicles is corrupt. It speaks of "Ammonites and Moabites and Ammonites," which does not make sense.

2 Chronicles 26:7 speaks of "Arabs" and "Meunites." Probably there were Midianites among the invaders whom Jehoiada learned to hate as the worst of the marauders.

Because of his animosity against the Midianites Pn changed the scene where Yahweh first revealed himself to Moses. This had not taken place, as the J document assumed, in Midian (Ex 3 and 4, esp. 4:19), but in Egypt (Ex 6:2-7:13, Pn). Exodus 6:28 says explicitly, "on the day when Yahweh spoke to Moses in Egypt." Pn did not annotate a single word in Exodus 18, the story of Jethro, the Midianite priest who taught Moses how to organize a legal system. Apparently Pn disagreed with the whole tenor of this chapter.

Numbers 25 and 31 are of composite character. 25:1-4 must be very old (see pp. 163, 164).

The episode recounting how the priest Phinehas pierced with his lance a man of Israel who was found in bed with a Midianite woman (Nu 25:6-15) must have been interpolated later than verses 16,17, 18a; for 18b, the reference to Cozbi, is obviously an additional corrective to 18a. Hence, the episode can only have been added by PC, in order to give the divine sanction to the Aaronite priesthood claiming descent from Phinehas. In fact, according to Hilkiyah, the institution of the high priest in the temple of Jerusalem claiming descent from Phinehas was no innovation of Hilkiyah's but the restoration of an old Mosaic practice.

The nucleus of Numbers 31 (the campaign against Midian) is Pn. It includes verses 1-5,7-10,14-16a,17,18,25,26a,27,32-36,42-46,48-50,51 (excluding "and the priest Eleazar"), 52,53,54 (excluding "Eleazar the priest" and "the tent of meeting"). Here again we meet the numerologist Pn, who gives us exact—but, of course, exaggerated—figures for the herds, the flocks, the donkeys, and the virgin women in the booty. The rest of the chapter was added by PC. Hilkiyah was interested in laws about the ritual cleansing of metals and the special levy taken from the booty for the high priest and the Levites.

This analysis, based on the numerological criterion, is corroborated by the sheep-cattle criterion, mentioned on pp. 106, 107. Pn, who lived in Judah in the ninth century, speaks only of "sheep and cattle" (Nu 31:32,33,37,38,43,44). PC, however, whose rich sacrificial cult system is based on large-scale cattle breeding, speaks, as in all other PC passages, of "cattle and sheep" (Nu 31:28,30).

Apart from Genesis 17:12,13a,14,27, there is no trace of PC in

Genesis and Exodus 1-11. Exodus 6:2-7:13 is by a single hand. It is Pn's view of the divine call to Moses and Aaron, correcting the record of the J document, which is to be found in Exodus 3-5; that is our text, excluding the annotations made by E (see p. 130). According to Pn, God did not reveal himself in a flame in Midian, but spoke to Moses in Egypt, when He introduced himself as Yahweh, but as being identical with the God whom the Fathers called El Shaddai. He had heard the groaning of the Israelites and remembered his covenant with the Fathers in which he had promised to give the land of Canaan to their descendants. God purposed to deliver the Israelites, to punish the Egyptians severely, and to make Israel his people, so that they might recognize him as their God. Moses spoke to the people, but they did not listen to him, being weary from overwork. Then Moses was told to go to Pharaoh and ask him to let the people go. Moses objected: Israel had not listened to him, and Pharaoh, certainly, would not (Ex 6:1-12). The remark "and I am a man of uncircumcised lips" is out of place at this point, and may have come into the text erroneously from verse 30. Then Yahweh told Moses that he, Yahweh, his God, would tell him what to say to Pharaoh. Moses objected that he had uncircumcised lips (Ex 6:29,30). Yahweh suggested that Moses should describe his thoughts to Aaron, who should speak for him just as the prophets speak for God. Then God revealed to Moses that He knew that Pharaoh would not listen to him: But God wanted to follow this procedure, only to show his power to the Egyptians.

Pn deviates from the J document in two important respects: Pn stresses that it was Yahweh who hardened Pharaoh's heart, whereas the J document emphasizes that the king hardened his own heart. Furthermore, the J document never mentions a decisive contest between Yahweh and the Egyptian gods and wizards, as Pn repeatedly does. For an analysis of the plagues, see pp. 158, 229-231.

To understand the personality of the priestly narrator (Pn) concretely, we must realize that the central value in his religio-philosophic system was power in all its aspects. God showed his unlimited power and his enormous resources in the act of creation. This power became destructive at the time of the Flood and the devastation of Sodom. But God's power was also capable of saving

the innocent and the righteous, e.g., the family of Noah, the one blameless figure of his generation (Gen 6:9). Lot was saved at the request of Abraham (Gen 16:29). To Pn the conflict in Egypt was a decisive contest between the power of Yahweh and that of the Egyptian king, wizards, and gods. The Egyptian wizards could turn rods into serpents, but "Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods" (Ex 7:12). The magicians tried to by their secret arts to produce gnats, but they could not. They said to Pharaoh: "This is the finger of God" (Ex 8:14,15, Hebrew text). "The magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils, for the boils were upon the magicians and upon all the Egyptians." (Ex 9:11). The king did not learn from all this, for Yahweh hardened his heart, as he foretold to Moses (Ex 7:3,4), in order to show his power and to punish the Egyptian gods (Ex 7:4,5).

To show his benevolent power to his servants, God gave wealth to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the people of Israel grew in a few generations from a total of seventy persons to 600,000 able-bodied men—that is one and one-half million persons. God endowed all the ancestral family heads from Adam to Moses with longevity. Noah was a descendant not of the murderer Cain, as the Yahwist master narrator tells us, but of Sheth, who was born to Adam in his one hundred and thirtieth year, and who lived another eight hundred years. Both Adam and Sheth were created in the likeness of God (Gen 5:1.3)—that is to say, they had enormous vitality and physical strength. The last person to live over four hundred years was Eber, the ancestor of all the Hebrews. After the Flood the average age was reduced to one hundred and twenty years. When Moses arrived at this age, Pn remarks that "his eye was not dim nor his physical strength abated" (Dt 34:7).

But besides physical, material, and punitive power, Pn admires illustrious ancestry and intellectual power. Israel was not only favored by its enormous growth, but by a long line of ancestors. The Hebrews had the oldest family tree; the line of their venerable and long-lived forefathers is traced directly back from Jacob to Noah and to Adam, all tremendously vital titans. Pn must have had great intellectual curiosity. Like a modern scientist, he wanted to trace all the facts about the people of Israel and its history back to the origin of man and the world.

It is a great pity that Pn did not live in the modern scientific era.

For he was not contented with vague and inaccurate answers; he wanted to know the precise facts, the exact figures, the true names of persons and places. So he worked out all the names of the ancestors of Israel and the Hebrews, their exact age when they begot their eldest sons and how long they lived afterward. He tried to find out the exact dates of important events, the size of the population, and the booty (Nu 31), and all the local names of the places where the Israelites camped in the wilderness (Nu 33). The table of the nations in Genesis 10 is to a great extent Pn's work. His speculative zeal did not end with historical, geographical and statistical data; he also wanted to know the exact stages of the work of the divine creation. How Pn arrived at all the facts and figures he details is his secret. He collected a number of traditions and filled in the lacunae on the basis of speculation. His curiosity and imagination must have been enormous.

The problem arises: How could the educated and enlightened people in Jerusalem have accepted all these fantastic and grotesque figures and facts at their face value? From the historical and prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible we gather that the Hebrews, especially the Jerusalemites, were far from being uncritical or gullible. Dathan and Abiram, Jotham, Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and many others—all protested, criticized, rebelled at a number of things. Why did no one protest against Pn's grotesqueries, or question his certainty? The only possible answer is that Pn must have occupied a highly respected position and have spoken with so great authority that none dared oppose him. It was Pn's responsibility to decide what should be incorporated into the sacred book of the Torah, which was in the custody of the priests of Jerusalem and which contained, during the pre-Hezekian period, only the J document and the Covenant Code. The fact that Pn could insert into the Sabbath law of the Ten Commandments a reference to the Sabbath of Creation is another confirmation of his authority.

During the early monarchy, even the chief priest was under the authority of the king. The history of that period can produce only one personality with Pn's unlimited authority—the priest-regent Jehoiada. During King Joash's minority he was free to insert his annotations into the sacred book, because he was in high esteem both for his leadership in the campaign against paganism and for

his erudition. "They buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good in Israel and toward God and his house" (2 Chr 24:16), records the "Commentary on the Books of the Kings," one of the sources of the Chronicler (2 Chr 24:27), perhaps written or completed by the Levites in Casiphia (see p. 21).

As the priestly ruler of the Kingdom of Judah and Jerusalem, Jehoiada was interested in the temple of Jerusalem and in the ancient sanctuary of Hebron as well. This expert in statistics and finance (Gen 23:15) reorganized the financial income of the Temple. "He took a chest and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar on the right side as one entered the house of Yahweh; and the priests who guarded the threshold put in it all the money that was brought into the house of Yahweh. And whenever they saw that there was much money in the chest, the king's secretary and the high priest [2 Chr 24:11 has the original "*chief* priest"; see p. 24] came up and they counted and tied up in bags the money that was found in the house of Yahweh" (2 Ki 12:9-12). This interesting record of Jehoiada's ingenious employment of his statistical and financial skill corresponds exactly with what we know about Pn.

Jehoiada must have been deeply devoted to the oldest sanctuary of the Judahites, Hebron, as well as to Jerusalem. According to an old record, the tribe of Judah conquered Hebron under the leadership of the Kenizzite Caleb, the son of Jephunneh (Ju 1:10-20; Jos 14:6-14). The Hebrew priests of Hebron believed that their famous sanctuary in the terebinths of Mamre had been founded by Abraham (Gen 13:18; 18:1). If Pn is identical with Jehoiada, we can understand why that antiquarian and genealogist, in his role of priest-regent, showed such a remarkable concern for the patriarchal tomb at Machpelah near Hebron. He describes its purchase from the Hittites by Abraham (Gen 23) in detail, and repeatedly emphasizes that it was the burial place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah (Gen 25:9-10; 49:30-32). Perhaps Jehoiada wanted to transform this patriarchal tomb into an attractive pilgrim center, to counteract the paganizing cult of the dead.

Both Pn and Jehoiada were fond of contracts and covenants. Pn describes in complete detail the contract for the sale of the cave of Machpelah by Abraham. He believed that God had made a covenant with Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (Gen 9:17; Ex 6:4) and with

the people of Israel at Sinai (Ex 24). Pn is the only one to give us the details of the solemn blood ritual and sacrifices that accompanied this covenant. As priest-regent, Jehoiada himself made a number of covenants. First, he made a covenant, accompanied by a solemn oath in the Temple, with the military leaders (2 Ki 11:4). Then "he made a covenant between Yahweh and the king and the people that they should be Yahweh's people; and also between the king and the people" (2 Ki 11:17). Perhaps he too performed the ceremony of throwing part of the blood of the victims on the altar and part on the people and the king, which he describes in Exodus 24.

Jehoiada must have been greatly impressed by the value of solemn, symbolic actions, and dramatic, visible ritual. We know that Pn too regarded the act of circumcision as a covenant symbol, and held that the blood on the posts in the Passover ritual was a sign (Gen 17:13b; Ex 12:13), and that the rainbow was a sign or symbol of God's covenant with Noah (Gen 9:15). Under Jehoiada, the observance of the weekly Sabbath was distinguished by the fact that on each weekend one-third of the guard were off duty (2 Ki 11:5-7). To Pn the wonders in Egypt were signs and symbols of Yahweh's superior power. "I will harden Pharaoh's heart and so multiply my signs and wonders in the land of Egypt" (Ex 7:3). Hence, in the fight for the propagation of Yahweh's power in the world, all means were justified. Through a bloody overthrow of Queen Athalia and her followers, Jehoiada succeeded in eliminating the worship of the Tyrian Baal fostered by the Queen (2 Ki 11). Similarly, Pn praises the Levites who killed all the Israelites who worshiped the idol at Mount Sinai (Ex 32:26-29). "Today you have ordained yourselves for the service of Yahweh, each one at the cost of his son and of his brother, that he may bestow a blessing upon you this day" (v. 29). In Deuteronomy 33:11, Pn praises Levi's fanaticism in a similar vein: "Bless, O Yahweh, his troops and accept the work of his hands; crush the lions of his adversaries, of those that hate him, that they rise not again" (v. 11). And in Genesis 34, Pn excuses the fanaticism of the tribes of Simeon and Levi, who destroy the whole town of Shechem in order to take vengeance on its prince for defiling Dinah, the daughter of Jacob (see p. 135). These various references make it highly probable that the priestly narrator (Pn) is identical with the priest-regent Jehoiada.

THE EPHRAIMITE COMMENTATOR

Mowinckel is right: E, the non-priestly northern Elohist, comes from the organized *nebiim*, but not from the (literary) prophets. "Now restore the man's wife," said Elohim in a dream to Abimelech, "for he is a *nabi*, and he will pray for you and you shall live" (Gen 20:7). "And Abraham prayed to Elohim; and Elohim healed Abimelech and his wife and female slaves so that they bore children" (Gen 20:17). Or: "And Jacob went on his way and the angels of Elohim met him; and when Jacob saw them he said, 'This is Elohim's camp'" (Gen 32:2,3 Hebrew text). Or: "And he was afraid, and said, 'How awesome is this place! This is none other than Elohim's house, and this is the gate of heaven'" (Gen 28:17). Here we are in the faith-centered dream-world of the visionary healing prophets, of Elijah and Elisha.

E is not a school of scribes, E 1, E 2, E 3, etc. E is a great visionary religious leader, who fought for the Elohim Yahweh against the Elohim Baal. "And Jacob said to his household and to all who were with him, 'Put away the foreign gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments; then let us arise and go up to Bethel'" (Gen 35:2,3). To E, Abraham and Jacob are *nebiim*, like Elijah, fighting against the foreign gods, the Tyrian Baal and Ashera.

E did not write the same kind of book the Yahwist did, one that begins with Adam and ends with Moses. He was not a replica of the Yahwist, who simply wrote duplicate accounts of the same subjects and in the same order, varying from the Yahwist only in occasional phrases and passages. That is a scholarly myth, widespread, but poorly documented. If it were so, why has E nothing to say about Creation, Paradise, the first murder, the Flood, the Tower, God's call to Abraham, Sodom and Gomorrha? If the northern E were interested only in the accounts of Jacob and Joseph, why does he recount three fine stories about Abraham: Abraham in Gerar (Gen 20), Hagar's expulsion (Gen 21), and Abraham's frustrated sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22)? Why have we no story from E about subjects so important as the courtship of Rebekah, the plagues in Egypt, the miracle of the Red Sea, the manna, the spies, and the revolt against Moses? Why does E add only a few phrases, if any, to the account of these important subjects?

The answer is simple: E did not write an independent book; he only commented on the Yahwist document, in the same way that Pn did. When E was satisfied with an account and saw nothing to correct in it, he added nothing; occasionally he passed a few remarks or recounted a forgotten story or a different version of the Yahwist account. If we give up the myth of an independent E book, we need no longer be perplexed by the many difficulties in finding parallels between J and E, because in most cases no parallels ever did exist.

Take, for example, the account of the birth of the twelve children of Jacob (Gen 29:30-30:24). The J document is complete, giving explanations for the names of all eleven sons (Dinah's name is not explained; it may have been an added gloss). E adds his few words only when J's explanation lacks religious fervor. To E may be ascribed only these passages: 30:2,3 (Jacob rebuked Rachel for her irreverent remarks). In 6a, J had: "And Rachel said, 'He [Dan] has vindicated me' ". E added "Elohim, and has given me a son." Not Dan, but God becomes the vindicator. In 8, J had: "I have wrestled with my sister and have prevailed." E added "with wrestlings of Elohim." Rachel's wrestling was not for her husband's sexual favor, but a contest in prayer for God's favor. In 17, E added: "And Elohim hearkened to Leah." In 18, E added: "And Leah said, 'Elohim has given me my reward because I gave my maid to my husband.' " J's explanation of Issachar's name is in verse 16. In 20, E added: "Elohim has endowed me with a good dowry." In 22, E added: "And Elohim hearkened to her." In 22a, J had "And Yahweh remembered Rachel." The masoretic "Elohim" crept in from the "Elohim" of 22b. In 23, E added: "and said, 'Elohim has taken away my reproach.' "

If there was a redactor who had two books before him and selected the texts at his discretion, skilfully weaving the Elohist explanations into the Yahwist text, why did he not do the same with Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah? It cannot be maintained that E was yet unfamiliar with these four tribes; for Reuben and Simeon play an important role in the Elohist version of the Joseph story. The true answer is simple and cogent: The explanations for the names of these sons of Jacob pleased the less wordly E in that they represent the mother as thanking God for the gift of these children. E only corrects more worldly explanations by suggesting religious

ones. This is irrefutable proof that E was not an independent author, but a commentator on J.

When E's influence is discounted, the J document becomes a logical and complete whole. Read without E's annotations, the document gains in homogeneity and fluency. Reading E's annotations as a group leaves us only with incoherent fragments. A cautious analysis of the text reduces E to its proper proportion.

Genesis 40 has no doublets and is a good test of our thesis. The suggested analysis reveals that the J text is complete, and not fragmentary as the usual analysis of Wellhausen and his followers indicate. E is responsible only for the following: In verse 3, "in ward in the house of the captain of the guard"; verse 4 (the captain charged Joseph with the prisoners); in verse 7, "who were with him in the ward of his master's house"; in verse 15, "For I was stolen from the land of the Hebrews and here also." The chief stumbling block is the variation of the titles of the two officials. Verses 1 and 5 call them "the baker [or butler] of the king of Egypt." In verses 2,9,20-23, they are called chief baker or chief butler. If these two denotations do indeed bespeak two sources, E and J, the whole text must have been redacted and compiled from two independent sources. Therefore their proper assignment is the acid test of our suggested thesis. After long and careful study of this question, the present writer has come to the conclusion that the chapter must have been written substantially by the Yahwist master narrator, for he alone was familiar with Egyptian life and institutions. At first he used the lengthy Egyptian title, "baker [butler] of the king of Egypt" (not Pharaoh). Having used the Egyptian titles twice they became too long. So he coined (v. 9ff.), after a term such as "*sar hatz'va*" (Gen 21:22), meaning captain of the host, new Hebrew equivalents: *sar hamashkim* (chief butler) and *sar ha'ofim* (chief baker). He liked his new coinage so much that he kept it. Verse 2b, however, is a gloss on the words "two eunuchs." The glossator, of course, already knew and used the new short terms, coined by the narrator.

The author cannot agree with Rudolph, who assumes that there is no E in Exodus and that even the Yahwist occasionally used the term Elohim under certain conditions. The name Elohim, important as it may be as a clue to the Elohist, is not the only clue. The

northern Elohist is discernible by his theology, his idealization of the Hebrew leaders and his concern with the northern tribes. Angels occur frequently, and the great leaders behave like prophets and saints. E prefers the amenities, such as to say, "Here I am," if anybody is called by his superior. He calls the native population of Canaan with the general name of Amorites instead of Canaanites or Hittites as the southern writers do; for the Amorites lived in the northern territory. E uses the northern term Horeb instead of the term Sinai used by the southern authors.

E is the only one to mention the angel who goes before the camp of Israel (Ex 14:19; 23:20, 21, 23; 32:34a; 33:2). It may be noted that E still believes that God has a form or likeness (Nu 12:8), which Moses alone can see (Ex 33:11). Other prophets can see God only in dreams, not face to face (Nu 12:6). E's concept of God is tribal—Elohim warns the Syrian Laban (Gen 31:24) and the Philistine Abimelech (Gen 20:3) not to harm any of the beloved Hebrew leaders, who are represented as morally flawless, in contrast to the Yahwist who does not deny their shortcomings. E notes that Abraham did not lie when he said that Sarah was his sister; for she was indeed his half-sister (Gen 20:12). Elohim protected Sarah from being touched by the pagan king Abimelech (Gen 20:6). It was not Jacob who cheated Laban by manipulating to get the sheep Laban had promised him, but Laban who cheated Jacob by changing his wages ten times—consequently Elohim helped the poor cheated Jacob to obtain the sheep he wanted (Gen 31:7ab-16). E excused the Hebrew overseers in Egypt who forced their own people to work harder. The overseers, he notes, were beaten themselves. E blames the Egyptian taskmasters entirely for the inhumanity shown to the Hebrew slaves (Ex 5:14-19).

E interpolated in the J document of Genesis only three complete stories: Sarah's kidnaping by Abimelech (Gen 20:1-17); the expulsion of Hagar and her bad-mannered son Ishmael (Gen 21:9-21); and the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22:1-14, 19). For a discussion of the text, see p. 156. Apart from these stories, E only annotated Genesis 24-50 for special reasons. The following is a list of the annotations and the special reasons for each of them:

- Esau sells his birthright (Gen 25:31-33, 34b).
 27:1b (from "my son"), "he said" (in v. 2), 18 (from "and he said").
 "May God give you the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth" (v. 28a).
 Esau enters when Jacob is about to leave (v. 30 ab.ac).
 The blessing shall stay (v. 33b).
 Esau: Jacob has stolen my birthright and blessing (v. 36a).
 "Why should I be bereft of you both in one day?" (v. 45b)
 Jacob's dream: Angels ascending and descending (Gen 28:12b).
 The place is awesome (v. 17). He made a vow (v. 20-22).
 Jacob is angry at Rachel for being disrespectful to him (Gen 30:2,3).
 E corrects J's explanation of the names of Jacob's children (Gen 30:6ff.).
 God helps Jacob against the thievery of Laban (Gen 31:5b,7ab-16,20,24,29, 31b).
 Verses 41-43 (from "the daughters"), "and now" (in v. 44). In verse 49 read "Elohim" (with LXX), 50.
 Jacob meets the angels (Gen 32:2,3), "with Elohim" (in v. 29), sees God (v. 31).
 Jacob is hurt, but does not hurt the angel (v. 26ba,32b).
 Jacob buries the idols and builds an altar at Bethel (Gen 35:1-5. "And Jacob came to Bethel" [from 6a], 6b,7).
 Gen 37:13b,14a.
 Reuben tries to save Joseph (v. 22,29, 30).
 E justifies the "stolen" blessing.
 Jacob is very polite to his father.
 E thinks of the fertile Ephraim.
 E stresses Gods' providence as favoring Jacob.
 Isaac himself sanctions the blessing.
 Refers to Genesis 25:31-33.
 E is more emotional than J.
 See p. 136.
 E stresses the piety of Jacob.
 A patriarch must be respected by his wife.
 See pp. 137, 138.
 E exculpates the patriarch by blaming the Syrian Laban.
 See p. 139.
 See p. 136.
 See p. 226.
 E stresses Jacob's piety.
 Joseph's politeness.
 Reuben is the oldest northern tribe and acts responsibly.

Midianites sell Joseph to the Egyptians (v. 28aa,b,36).

Joseph comes into the house of Potiphar (Gen 39:1 "Potiphar" to "captain of the guard").

"and sin against God"? (Gen 39:9bb)

Joseph came "into custody in the house of Potiphar" (in Gen 40:3a),4,7ab. 41:10b, "servant of the captain of the guard" in 12.

God speaks through dreams (Gen 41: 25b,28,32,38,39ab).

Joseph fears God (Gen 42:18b).

Simeon will be confined (v. 19ab, 24bb, bc).

Reuben blames his brethren (v. 22).
The brethren feel guilty (v. 28bb,bc).
Simeon shall stay behind (v. 33b,34b).
Reuben pledges (v. 36,37).

God is gracious (Gen 43:14).

Simeon is set free (v. 23b).

Joseph weeps aloud (Gen 45:2).

It was all a divine plan (v. 7,8,9ac).

God appears in a vision at night (Gen 46:2).

Jacob blesses Joseph and his sons (Gen 48:15ab,b,16,20,21b,22).

God turns evil to good (Gen 50:19b, 20).

When God brings you back to Canaan, carry my bones away from here (v. 24b,25). Joseph lives to see his great-grandchildren (v. 23).

The Hebrew tribes cannot be assumed to have sold Joseph.

God sent Joseph to a high official, not to an ordinary Egyptian (as J records).

E stresses the religious character of adultery.

Joseph was in the company of officers, not of the dregs of the people.

E was a visionary prophet himself.

E stresses Joseph's piety (see p. 140).

Simeon was the second eldest, but least responsible of the tribes.

The ten tribes may sin, but are not wicked.

Joseph's piety.

E is more emotional than J.

E stresses the religious significance of the events.

Joseph, the ancestor of the main northern tribes, receives Jacob's special blessing.

Joseph's burial place and family tree were important to Ephraimites.

Exodus contains no complete account written by E, but only these annotations: God rewards the pious midwives (Ex 1:20a,21). Moses hears the call at Horeb (Ex 3:1bb). Moses is very polite and reverent (v. 4b,5,6). God explains the name of Yahweh (v. 9-15). The exacting Hebrew overseers are excused, on the ground that they were beaten themselves (Ex 5:14-19). The children of Israel and Moses are honored by the Egyptian masses (Ex 11:1aa, 2,3;12:35,36). Why did the children of Israel not journey directly north to Canaan (Ex 13:17-19)? The angel of God moves and goes behind them (Ex 14:19a). God stands on the rock at Horeb, when Moses strikes for water (Ex 17:2a,ba,6aa, and in 7, "and Meribah, because of the striving of the children of Israel and"). Jethro hears "all that God did for Moses and Israel" (Ex 18:1ab). Moses camps at the mountain of God (v. 5bb). Jethro and the elders share a common meal (v. 12). The commandments are divine (v. 15b,16b, 19,20,23ab). The judges must be brave and God-fearing (v. 21ab). At Horeb God speaks to the people, accompanying Moses' words with thunder, but the people wish to hear only the voice of Moses (Ex 19:9,17,19b,20:15-18, Kittel, 18-21). An angel of God and a plague of hornets will gradually drive out the native population (Ex 23:20,21,23,28,29,30;32:34a;33:2). The Ephraimite leader Joshua accompanies Moses up the mountain (Ex 24:13,14;32:17,18). God speaks directly to Moses in the Tent of Meeting, and the people are reverent and humble (Ex 33:5-11). The stone tables are made and inscribed by God (Ex 32:16).

All these annotations bespeak the personality and outlook of E, the Ephraimite prophet-writer. God is an awe-inspiring power. He acts and speaks through deputies, angels or prophets. Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and Joshua were highly respected prophets, holy men, nearly sinless. The children of Israel stand under a particular divine guidance, as the miraculous proclamation of the commandments attests. As an Ephraimite, E is particularly interested in the northern tribes.

In Numbers, E has interpolated his account of the prophesying of the seventy elders, and the institution of this authoritative body, into J's story of the people's cry for meat instead of the monotonous manna. E is responsible for Exodus 11:11aa,14-17,24b,25-30. Moses is described as more broadminded than Joshua—his minister, as E calls him (Ex 24:13;33:11; Nu 11:28). E annotates in 12: "and

Aaron" (in 1); 2a,3,4-8,10a,11b. E reveals the grades of prophecy, Moses being the greatest. E spiritualizes the gossip. (See p. 239.)

E annotates the story of Balaam in the following passages: God forbids Balaam to go with the elders of Moab and curse Israel (Nu 22:9-12). After Balaam consents, E adds that God told Balaam in a night vision that he should say only what God would allow him to—on that condition he could go with the elders (v. 20). Balaam repeats this principle to King Balak (v. 37-38). Numbers 23:4 has "Elohim" in the Masoretic text, but probably the original had "Yahweh"; for there is nothing else characteristic of E. Numbers 23:4 is connected with 3 and 5, both of which have Yahweh. In Numbers 23:27, the words "perhaps it will please God" may have been added by E. E is more reverent than the Yahwist nucleus. The Elohist phrase in Numbers 24:2b, "and the spirit of God came upon him," is fitting for E, who is indicating that Balaam's speech was in harmony with God's will.

In the story of the occupation of East Jordan by the two and a half tribes, E added their request to be allowed to build sheepfolds for their flocks and cities for their children. After that they would go fighting with other tribes (Nu 32:16,17,26,27). Here we see that E was not only a visionary prophet, but a practical statesman as well, like the prophet-statesman Elisha. In Numbers 32:33 and 40, E is stressing that Moses himself had given the two and a half tribes the territory of Sihon and Og, and Machir the territory of Gilead. The text of E then recorded how Moses set aside three cities of refuge in East Jordan (Dt 4:41-43). ED began on verse 44, as explained on pp. 71, 72.

To E religion is essentially fear of Elohim (Gen 20:11;28:17;42:18b; Ex 1:17,21;3:6b;20:15-18, Kittel 18-21). That also obtains for ED (Dt 5:5;13:12;17:13;19:20;21:21). E and ED never mention love of God, as does JD (5:10;6:5;7:9;10:12;11:1,13,22;13:4;30:16,20) besides fear of God (4:10;6:13;8:6;10:12,20;13:5;31:12,13). E and ED never say that God loves the people, as JD does (4:37;7:8;10:15). Perhaps the concept of a relation of love between man and God reached Jerusalem with the writings of the prophet Hosea. We must assume that the writings of Amos and of Hosea reached Jerusalem at the time of the fall of Samaria or earlier, along with such other Ephraimite literature as ED and the Ephraimite version of the J document.

According to E and ED, Elohim dwells in heaven (E:Gen 21:17; 22:11; 28:12,17—ED:Dt 26:15). He is merciful and just. When he sees an afflicted person, he orders an angel to help (Hagar:Gen 21:17; Abraham's son:22:11). He calls to the afflicted person from heaven. Or an angel appears in a dream and gives his advice (Jacob:Gen 31:11,24). In some cases angels are sent to earth (Jacob:Gen 28:12; 32:2,3) or guide the people: (Gen 48:16; Ex 14:19a; 23:20, 23; 33:2). Or else Elohim directly helps the needy through a human messenger (Joseph:Gen 45:7; 50:20; midwives:Ex 1:20,21; Moses:3:9,10). ED stresses that if Israel is loyal to God, He will bless the land (Dt 14:29; 15:4,18; 16:10,15; 24:19; 26:15) and fight for his people (20:4,14; 23:15). Elohim prefers a humane form of worship—hence an angel warns Abraham not to sacrifice his son. Abraham erroneously believed that Elohim had commanded the sacrifice of his first-born (Gen 22).

With the spread of culture and literacy during the David-Solomonic period, the belief in angels ceased to be general. The Yahwist nucleus (N), the narrators of 1 Sam 9—2 Sam 23, and of 1 Ki 1-16, the priestly narrator (Pn), the Jerusalemite Deuteronomy (JD), the Priestly Code (PC), Amos, Micah, and Jeremiah make no mention of angels. But in the circles of Elijah and Elisha the belief in angels and miracles was unshaken. They described how an angel of Yahweh spoke to Elijah (2 Ki 1:3,15) and how Elijah himself went up to heaven in a whirlwind (2 Ki 2:1,11). The young Isaiah (Is 6) and the northern prophet Hosea (Hos 12:5) mention angels. So does the priestly revisor of the Yahwist nucleus in Genesis (Gen 3:24; 6:2; 16:19). The angel of Yahweh in Genesis 22:15 and Exodus 3:2 stem from the Hezekian editor.

ED begins his code with a law dealing with prophets (*nebiim*) and dreamers who show signs, that is, perform wonders. Such persons are authorized as long as they do not expound the worship of foreign gods. This is in keeping with the ideas of the prophetic circles of Elijah and Elisha. In E, Abraham is represented as resembling Elisha: he prays to God to cure Abimelech, the way a prophet (*nabi*) would do (Gen 20:17), and when he leaves to make a sacrifice, he takes two young men with him (Gen 22:3). Elisha, who was a well-to-do landowner, must have followed the same practice, as we know from the Elisha stories in the books of Kings (2 Ki 5:22).

In ED the elders are the urban judicial and administrative authorities. According to E, this institution went back to Moses (Nu 11). Complaining that he could not do all the work alone, Moses suggested that the people should choose wise and experienced men to assist him. The people had approved this proposal, and Moses had appointed seventy elders (ED Dt 1:12-15). When God spoke to Moses in a cloud, some of the divine spirit affected the seventy elders, and they too began to speak ecstatically, like *nebiim* (prophets)—even the two elders who remained in the camp. When Joshua wanted to put a stop to this ecstasy, “Moses said to him, ‘Are you jealous for my sake? Would that all the people of Yahweh were prophets, that Yahweh would put his spirit upon them’” (Nu 11:14,15,24-29). This report comes from E. E inserted it as the proper answer to Moses’ complaint that he could no longer bear the burden of leadership alone. The people’s unrest was due to their desire to eat meat instead of a diet of manna. E is responsible for 11:14-17, 18aa,24b,25-30. The basic story stems from the Yahwist master narrator.

The E account is in the spirit of the prophet Elisha, whose ideal it was that the whole people should become enthusiastic followers of Yahweh, like the guild prophets whose head he was. Joshua represents the military or political leader—corresponding in Elisha’s days to King Jehu, who was the military commander whom Elisha recognized as the new king after the bloody coup by which he gained the throne, because he was a loyal worshiper of Yahweh. But this worldly ruler shared the general dislike for ecstatic prophets, whom he considered to be madmen (2 Ki 9:11). Moses’ answer to Joshua was a clever reply to men like Jehu.

Another feature which may confirm the identity of E, ED, and Elisha is ED’s opposition to hostility on the part of Israel for Edomites and Egyptians (Dt 23:8). That does not imply that ED believes in equal rights for native Israelites and foreigners. The animal that dies of itself may not be eaten by an Israelite, but it can be sold to a foreigner (Dt 14:21). It was not permissible to accept interest from an Israelite; this did not apply to foreigners (Dt 23:21). The release year did not apply to the foreigner either (Dt 15:3). A foreigner could not be king (Dt 17:15). The same attitude towards foreigners is found in E. E has Rachel and Leah blame Laban, their mother’s brother, for treating them like foreigners

(Gen 31:15). That was not the attitude of Exodus 22:20, which prescribes fair treatment for aliens. Exodus 23:4,5 goes so far as to prescribe that if a man sees his foe's beast going astray, he must bring it back; and if the beast falls down under its burden, he must help it to its feet. It is noteworthy that ED takes over this law but confines it to Israelites (Dt 22:1-4).

The Covenant Code forbids the eating of flesh torn by beasts in the field, which may be cast to the dogs (Ex 22:30). ED substitutes: "You shall not eat anything that dies of itself; you may give it to the alien who is in your towns that he may eat it or you may sell it to a foreigner." The term "foreigner" (*nochri*) as distinct from "alien" (*ger*) is typical of E and ED (Gen 31:15; Dt 14:21; 15:3; 17:15; 23:21), almost unknown to the other Pentateuchal sources (only Ex 21:8 Covenant Code; Dt 29:21 JD). E and ED have a nationalist theology and ethics, in contrast to the universalist Yahwist master narrator (Gen 9:26,27; 12:3; 14:19-22; Ex 19:5). Therefore E did not annotate the stories from Adam to Noah, beginning his commentary with Genesis 20. E draws the Syrian Laban in black colors, labelling him "the Syrian" (Gen 31:7-16,20-24). The Syrians were the enemies of Northern Israel during Elisha's times. Elisha's friendliness with the Syrian general Naaman was due to Naaman's having become a follower of Yahweh.

In the prophetic guild circles of Northern Israel the principal forms taken by the worship of Yahweh were prayer and music (1 Ki 17:20,21; 18:36; 2 Ki 3:15; 1 Sam 10:5); but the sacrificial cult had not been repudiated (1 Ki 18:32; 1 Sam 10:8). The same attitude is to be found in E and ED (prayers: Gen 20:7,17; Dt 9:25; 26:4,5-10,13-15; sacrifices: Gen 35:7; Ex 18:12; Dt 12:6,27; 14:22ff.; 15:19ff.; 16:16; 17:1; 18:3,4). Yahweh was the God of the land of Israel, but he was superior to the gods of the other nations (2 Ki 5:15). The images and statues of foreign gods had to be buried (Gen 35:4; Jos 24:23). Gold, silver, or molten gods were forbidden by the Covenant Code (Ex 20:20; revised: 34:17). But neither Elijah nor Elisha objected to the representation of Yahweh in the traditional form of a calf or young bull in Bethel and Dan, sanctioned by King Jeroboam. The general prohibition of all images and statues representing Yahweh in any form whatever was formulated under the iconoclastic King Hezekiah after the fall of Samaria.

The legitimacy of the sacrificial cult was made dependent on certain moral conditions. Not only must the victim be technically without blemish or defect, but it could not be the hire of a harlot or of any other sexual sinner (Dt 23:19). It could not imply an act of inhumanity (Gen 22). Vows must be paid, but "if you refrain from vowing, it shall be no sin in you" (Dt 23:22). The saying that Yahweh takes greater delight in loyalty than in the fat of rams (1 Sam 15:22) was ascribed to Samuel, the founder of the prophetic guild movement. These moral restrictions were the first step in that subordination of cult to morality taught by the great literary prophets.

When the Syrian general Naaman was cured by Elisha, he became a convinced and loyal worshiper of Yahweh. He asked for permission to take two mules loaded with earth from the land of Israel to build an altar to Yahweh on holy ground. Naaman promised to be a conscientious worshiper of Yahweh. As a high official, of course, he was not a free man. When the king of Syria went to the temple of Rimmon and bowed down, Naaman had to take part in this ceremony. He asked Elisha whether Yahweh would pardon this necessary sin, and the prophet raised no objection. This attitude is characteristic of Elisha, who was no fanatic fundamentalist. Elisha was a realistic statesman, even in matters of religious policy. Therefore he had recognized Jehu, a violent soldier, but loyal to Yahweh. In this respect Elisha differed from his master Elijah, who was a zealot. Elijah had slaughtered the prophets of Baal after inciting the aroused masses to seize them (1 Ki 18:40). Immediately after the Naboth incident, he had gone to King Ahab and thundered at him, "Have you killed, and also taken possession? In the place where dogs licked up the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick your own blood" (1 Ki 21:19). This undiplomatic and provocative remonstrance was far distant from the pedagogic skill the prophet Nathan displayed after the similar Bathsheba incident. No wonder that the king had no respect for Elijah and called him "my enemy" (v. 20). Elisha wanted to convert people to the worship of Yahweh. Though a rich landowner himself, he helped the poor. He went to the Syrian commander and foretold that he would be king, thus winning Naaman over. Perhaps the account of old Elijah's finding Yahweh at Horeb not in the fire or the quake or the storm, but in the small voice (1 Ki 19:11,12) stems from the pen of Elisha.

Elisha was the Paul of the prophetic movement of the Northern Israel.

Elisha realized that what matters is not so much what people do as what they mean to do. Since Naaman meant to serve Yahweh loyally, it was not necessary for him to sacrifice his life for a pure formality. E and ED both stress the significance of intent in judging an action. After Abimelech had taken Sarah as his wife, because Abraham said that she was his sister, he defended himself from God's threatening voice, saying, "In the integrity of my heart and the innocence of my hands I have done this" (Gen 20:5). When Abraham showed his willingness to sacrifice even his beloved only son, God prevented him. Abraham's good intention had been tested (Gen 22). If a lying witness were to level a false accusation, "you shall do to him as he intended to do to his brother" (Dt 19:19). If one man unintentionally kills another, the killer must be saved from the avenger (Dt 19:6). The virgin who has been raped in a lonely field must not be punished because even if she had cried out, there was no one there to help her (Dt 22:26,27). In all these cases it is not the action, but the intent which has to be judged. This approach is far from that of PC, who as a ritualist weighs only the action, and insists that the person who sins unintentionally or unconsciously must make a sin offering (Lev 4 and 5).

E is not a ritualist, but a spiritualist. He believes in the hypnotic power of a holy man or prophet. When Moses was full of the divine spirit, something of his spirit passed to the elders, so that they spoke ecstatically, like prophets (Nu 11:25). ED enjoins against the agitation of an idolatrous prophet or his fanatic followers (Dt 13). Only the fearless shall go to war; the fearful shall stay at home, for both courage and cowardice are contagious (Dt 20:1-9). Elisha himself, was fearless. He opposed the invading king of Syria at the risk of his life (2 Ki 6:8ff.). Elisha's miracles were due, to a large extent, to the prophet's extraordinary hypnotic power. He made people believe that the little food they had was plenty; that when he was swimming he was dividing the water; that when they were in danger, they saw a host of fiery horses and riders coming to save them (2 Ki 2-6). No wonder that Elisha's speech exerted great influence over commanders and kings (2 Ki 4:13). Consequently, Elisha influenced politics by prophesying to military commanders (Jehu and Hazael) that they were to become kings.

Actually, what he did was to arouse their ambition, so that they firmly believed they would be kings and did all they could to realize the predicted fate. Then, the fulfillment of his predictions enhanced the prophet's prestige and authority.

ED knew that this hypnotic and prophetic power could be used for the benefit of different gods, for both Yahweh and Baal. Therefore he warned against the prophets who propagated the worship of foreign gods by performing miracles or foretelling future events. Elijah and Elisha were convinced that they were superior to the prophets of Baal in prophetic technique (1 Ki 18)—and that consequently Yahweh was superior to the other gods. They knew that they were not the first and greatest prophets of Yahweh. It was E who called Abraham, Joshua, and Samuel the master prophets of the past, and Moses the supreme master of all the prophets. E tells us that the ordinary prophets saw visions and heard oracles and interpreted them, but that Moses spoke directly to God (Nu 12:7, 8; Ex 33:11). Elijah was considered a second Moses. He went to Mount Horeb and communed with Yahweh after fasting for forty days and nights (1 Ki 19).

All these considerations corroborate our view that E, ED, and Elisha are one.

THE PRIESTLY YAHWIST IN GENESIS

The more the author has studied the basic J document, the more he has become convinced that it underwent an early priestly revision before the northern E and the southern Pn began their annotations in the mid-ninth century. The priests of the united kingdom appreciated the book as an excellent piece of work, the achievement of a God-inspired man; but the J document was too unorthodox for their priestly views and interests. Before allowing it to become a textbook for young priests, they had to revise it slightly, to mitigate certain offensive innovations, and to restore, to a certain extent, sacred popular traditions that had been eliminated or transformed by the enlightened author.

First, the priests wanted more emphasis laid on the decencies. The Yahwist master narrator had related that Adam and his wife were naked and were not ashamed (Gen 2:25). It was only when the primal couple were forced to leave the garden and began to

form a community that Yahweh had made them garments of skin (Gen 3:21). It follows that Adam and his wife remained naked in the garden even after having eaten of the forbidden fruit and heard the voice of God. That, of course, was offensive to a Yahwist priest. One cannot come in contact with the deity in such attire, or rather lack of attire. So the priests added: "and they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves girdles" (Gen 3:7), immediately before God called them (see the analysis of the Eden story in App. 4).

Another instance: The master narrator wrote: "And they [Rebekah's brother and mother] called Rebekah and said to her: 'Will you go with this man?' And she said: 'Yes'" (Gen 24:58). In verse 61 we read: "And the servant took Rebekah and went away." That was the natural sequel of her affirmative answer. But the priests were taken aback at these verses. They missed a chaperone. So they interpolated: "And they sent away their sister Rebekah and her nurse and Abraham's servant and his men" (v. 59). In the next two verses they added that Rebekah was blessed and set on camels with her damsels, "and they followed the man." More decorum, more decency, more formality!

In Genesis 38 we read that Judah mistook his daughter-in-law Tamar for a harlot. Now verse 2 had said that Judah was married. So the priests interpolated (in v. 12): "and the daughter of Shua, Judah's wife, died; and Judah was comforted and went up to his sheep-shearers to Timnah," and (in v. 14) "she put off her widow's garments." Verse 12 must have been interpolated, for verse 13 repeats the same information, differing only in the statement of Judah's wife's death. Since the story of Tamar could not be suppressed, Judah is described as visiting a harlot only after his wife's death. In verse 26b we read a passage which is extraneous and appears to be a later addition as well—the comment that Judah never made love to Tamar again.

There may have been other passages where the priests not only added one or two clauses but also omitted clauses or altered the text. In the unrevised Yahwist nucleus we read (Gen 9:22) that Canaan (not "Ham, the father of Canaan," in Pn's correction, because Pn called the youngest son of Noah, Ham) saw his father uncovered and "told his two brethren without." In verse 24, we read that Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him. Canaan's sin must have been worse than merely

the sight of his father's nakedness. We can only guess what it was. If it was ever mentioned, the priests have eliminated it.

The alterations which, the present author believes, were made in the story of Adam and in the story of Cain, are discussed in B.o.B., pp. 85-95.

Second, the priests did not wish sacred popular traditions to be altered greatly. In chapter 4, the Yahwist narrator recorded the history of civilization from Cain, the first murderer and city-dweller, to Lamech, a vindictive brute, the father of the righteous Noah. Genesis 4:24 (Lamech's song), was originally followed by 5:28b, 29 (Noah's birth); then by 6:4aa,b; "The *Nefilim* were on earth in those days. They were the heroes of old, the men of renown. The *Nefilim* were legendary giants and demi-gods. The master narrator, who was an enlightened man, wished to eliminate the semi-mythological origin of these *nefilim* (literally "fallen [from heaven]"). So he converted these heroes into brutes like Lamech, whose vindictive song he quotes. The priests did not care for this rationalization. They believed in the old legends of the sons of Elohim who had fallen from heaven. For, to believe otherwise would have meant that Cain and his brothers must have married their sisters and that the origin of mankind was incestuous. Consequently, the priests restored the old semi-mythological explanation of the origin of the *Nefilim* in Genesis 6:1,2,4ab. The stylistically awkward verse 4ab proves that the text was manipulated. Verse 3 stems from the numerologist Pn. The best emendation of this corrupt verse would be: "My spirit shall not *stay* (read: *yagur* for *yadun*) in man for he is blood and flesh (*ki dam hu' v'bassar*) and his age be one hundred and twenty years." The reference to *blood* and *stay* (see Gen 47:9, *m'guray*) and the specific number of years, bespeak Pn.

Third, the revising priests wanted to recognize the cultic institution properly. In noting that a person worshiped Yahweh, the master narrator used the phrase: "He called on the name of Yahweh." At the end of the story of Cain and his descendants, we read: "Then was started to call on the name of Yahweh" (Gen 4:26b). This "'az *huchal* (then was started) was apparently "'az *bechel*" (then he started). Cain, not one of his descendants, was the subject. Probably the passage originally came after verse 16. After Yahweh had pledged himself to protect Cain, Cain settled in the land of Nod. It was then that he started to call on the

name of Yahweh. Cain, the first smith, was the ancestor of the tribe of smiths, the Kenites. The God of their desert mountains was called Yahweh. Moses introduced this name to the Israelites. The Kenites could not remember when this old name first came into use, so they concluded that Cain, from whom they claimed descent, had already worshiped Yahweh.

The master narrator makes use of this old Kenite legend to prove his thesis that Yahweh was the first and oldest name of God, the Creator and Ruler of the World. When Moses was on Mount Sinai, the sacred desert mountain of the Kenites, "he called on the name of Yahweh" (Ex 34:5b). This name meant, as Moses learned, a God "merciful and helpful, patient, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness" (v. 6). Cain and Moses were not alone in worshipping this God. Abraham, when he was at Shechem (Gen 12:6,8) and Bethel (Gen 13:4) also called on His name. The narrator is indicating that when Abraham came to Canaan and visited the sanctuaries, he invoked not the inhuman and immoral gods of the Canaanites, but the humane and universal God of the repentant Cain and of Moses. If this supposition is true, the original text ran: "And Abram passed through the land to the shrine of Shechem, to the terebinth of Moreh (Gen 12:6) and called on the name of Yahweh" (v. 8bc). On his return journey, Abram "went to Bethel (v. 13:3) and there Abram called on the name of Yahweh" (v. 4b).

All this makes sense. But the priests of the narrator's day were not satisfied. They believed the sacrificial cult to be the proper form of worship of Yahweh. Hence, Abraham could not have *visited* Canaanite shrines. Abraham must have *founded* them. Yahweh was the God of Canaan before Baal was the god of the Canaanites. Therefore Israel had first claim to this land, and Yahweh had promised Abraham to give his descendants the land. So they interpolated: "And Yahweh appeared to Abram and said: 'To your descendants I will give this land'; and he built there an altar to Yahweh who appeared to him (Gen 12:7). Thence he removed to the mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; and there he built an altar to Yahweh (and called on the name of Yahweh)" (v. 8). That cannot have been in the original. If Yahweh appeared to Abraham at Shechem, why did Abraham not call on His name there, as he did near Bethel? If Yahweh promised Abraham to give him and his descendants this

land, why did he not mention this in His call to Abraham (Gen 12: 1-3)? In that address, God promises Abraham that he will be a great nation and have a great name and become a blessing to all nations of the earth; but God does not promise Abraham land to be given to his descendants. The interpolated theophany is colorless and uninspiring and does not seem to have been written by the same master who composed God's address.

The same promise of a land is repeated in the same stereotyped form in a theophany to Isaac (Gen 26:3a,ba;3bb-5 is a late-Deuteronomic-Hezekian, addition) and to Jacob (Gen 28:13,14). In B.o.B., pp. 174-177, the author has shown that Genesis 26 is an unoriginal secondary record that applies to Isaac what had been said previously about Abraham. There was not enough material about the patriarch Isaac. So the revising priests filled the gap with unimaginative repetitions. The story of Jacob's ladder dream, however, was an old Bethel tradition. The reference to the promised land in Genesis 28:13,14 is as colorless, uninspired, and stereotyped as in Genesis 12:7 and 26.

The same priests, presumably, had interpolated a stereotyped reference to the promised land in God's address to Moses (Ex 3:8, 17). According to the master narrator (v. 18), the people was promised Pharaoh's consent to go to the next oasis (a three days' march in the desert), probably meaning Kadesh, but not the land of Canaan.

The concept that God swore to the Fathers that he would give their descendants the land of Canaan was one that was stressed by Pn (Ex 6:8) and the Hezekian Deuteronomy (Gen 22:16), but was unknown to the master narrator, and was first related by the priests revising his work (Gen 15:18). The master narrator had an entirely different attitude toward the military invasion of Palestine. He advocated a bloodless, peaceful infiltration, mutual trade, and intermarriage, as he indicates in Gen 34:10-21. "These men are peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land and trade therein; for the land is large enough for them; let us take their daughters in marriage, and let us give them our daughters" (v. 21). In the basic Yahwist document, the Hebrews do not battle the Canaanites, Philistines, Egyptians, Syrians, Edomites, or Moabites. They make peace treaties and practise brotherhood. This humane author has not left any document of the settlement of Canaan. The

book of Joshua is an Ephraimitic document, enlarged by the Hezekian and Josian annotators. It is tribalist in its theology and ethics, not universalist and peace-loving, as that of the Yahwist master narrator.

When Abraham came to Canaan, God, we read, appeared to him at Shechem, where he built an altar; then he went to a high place between Bethel and Ai and built an altar there (Gen 12:6-8). On his way back, "he went to Bethel, to the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Bethel and Ai; to the place where he had made an altar at the first" (Gen 13:3,4). This text raises a number of questions. First, why did Abraham not go to Bethel itself where there was a famous sanctuary? Second, why did not the narrator say that Abraham went to the place between Bethel and Ai directly—why Bethel first? It is odd to describe someone who is going to a place between Hebron and Jerusalem as going "to Jerusalem, to a place between Hebron and Jerusalem." Third, why did the author stress that Abraham went back to this place and not to Shechem? Fourth, why did Abraham have a theophany only at Shechem and not near Bethel?

The answer to all these questions may be this: The original text read only: "And he went on his journeys from the south to Bethel" (Gen 13:3a) "and there Abraham called on the name of Yahweh" (v. 4b). Since Bethel is no less holy than Shechem, the revising priest thought Abraham must have also been at Bethel on his way to the south. But since it was Jacob who had founded the stone altar at Bethel, Abraham could only have been at the high place near Bethel. So the revising priest corrected the original "to Bethel" by adding "to the place, etc." and noted this place in chapter 12 as well.

If the altar, the theophany, and the promised land in Genesis 12, 13, 26 and 28, were not in the original Yahwist document, but were added by the revising priest, what about Genesis 13:18b, the altar-building at Hebron and the promised land preceding this (v. 14-17)? Two other questions are connected with these: First, why does Genesis 18 begin with "And Yahweh appeared to him" instead of "to Abraham" (which name was not mentioned at the original end of Genesis 16:14 (J); for 16:15-17:27 is Pn). Second, why does Genesis 15:7 begin: "And he said to him" instead of "And Yahweh said to him," as we should expect since Genesis 15:1-6 must be a later

interpolation, for the phrases "the word of Yahweh" (twice) and "my Yord Yahweh" betray an eighth-century style.

The most plausible answer is this: In Genesis 18:1, the master narrator began with "And Abram moved his tent and came and dwelt by the terebinths of Mamre which are in Hebron" (now Gen 13:18a). The story of the King of Sodom began with Genesis 14:8 (see B.O.B., pp. 106-108), following Genesis 13:13 ("And the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against Yahweh exceedingly"). The record of the covenant sacrifice in Genesis 15:7-21 were added by the priestly Yahwist (verses 13b and 14b were interpolated by Pn, as "400" years and "*r'chush*" indicate; 16 by E, as "Amorite" indicates). This early priestly record was preceded by "And Abram moved his tent and came and dwelt by the terebinths of Mamre which are in Hebron (now Gen 13:18a), and he built there an altar to Yahweh" (v. 18b). Then followed: "And Yahweh appeared to him in the terebinths of Mamre" (now Gen 18:1a). "And he said to him" (Gen 15:7).

Why the rearrangement? When the Hezekian reform eliminated Hebron as a sanctuary in favor of Jerusalem, the prophetic partner of the Hezekian editors added Genesis 15:1-6, and put the two sentences dealing with Hebron in the present places. He added the promised land in Genesis 13:14-17 to indicate that Abraham had to go to Hebron because God wanted him to take symbolic possession of the land by "walking through it in the length of it and in the breadth of it" (v. 17). That could not have taken place before Lot, the ancestor of Ammon and Moab, separated from Abraham (as stated in v. 14).

By eliminating Hebron from chapters 14-17, the Hezekian editor makes us believe that the two important Covenant revelations (Gen 15:7-21 and 17) did not take place at Hebron, as they were intended to do, but at Jerusalem. For Genesis 14:18 tells us that the priest-king of Salem (= Jerusalem) came out to bless Abraham. The implication may be that Abraham resided at Salem at this time.

The Hezekian editors achieved a similar *tour de force* in dealing with the story of Isaac's sacrifice (Gen 22). This northern Elohistic story could not have taken place, as our text says, "in the land of Moriah" (v. 2). There was no such "land." The most plausible conjecture is that the originally northern text had "*elon moreh*," that

is, the shrine of Shechem. Verse 14, which is now no longer understandable, originally read: "And Abraham called the name of this shrine *el yoreh*" ("God will show"). That was the explanation of *El moreh* (God showing). The Hezekian editor could not believe or allow others to believe, after the fall of Samaria, that this important event had taken place at Shechem. So he altered *elon moreh* to *eretz moriah* and *el yoreh* to *Yahweh yoreh*. *Moriah* means "Yahweh shows." *Yahweh yoreh*, spelled *yrh*, was misunderstood to mean *Yahweh yr'h*, which can be read as "he will see Yahweh" (*yir'eh*) or "Yahweh will be seen" (*yir'ae'h*). The gloss in verse 14b explains it with the contemporary phrase, "on the mountain Yahweh will be seen." So the story was shifted from Shechem to Jerusalem.

The Hezekian editor lacked an effective finale for this account. So he added a prophetic divine oath: verses 15-17. The phrase *n'um Yahweh* betrays the Hezekian prophetic writer. This oath is repeated in Genesis 26:3bb,4,5. It is noteworthy that the Hezekian writer uses the form *hithborachu* [*hithpael*] *kol goye ha'aretz* (all the peoples of the earth will be blessed), whereas the old Yahwist writers (both master narrator and revisor), use the phrase *v'niv'chu* [*nifal*] *kol mishp'choth ha'adama* (all the families of the earth will be blessed)—Genesis 12:3;28:14). The comparison with the countless stars was introduced by the Hezekian editor (Gen 15:5). This linguistic difference is an irrefutable proof that the universalism of the Yahwist document was not interpolated by a writer of the eighth century or later, but is old and genuine.

THE PRIESTLY YAHWIST IN EXODUS

In Exodus 3, we have the E version of the call to Moses interpolated into the Yahwist document. Its nucleus (N) includes verses 1a,ba,2b,3,4a,6aa,7,16 (except the phrase "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"), 18; 4:10-12. Yahweh remembers Israel, feels their suffering, so Moses and the elders are to ask Pharaoh for permission to worship Yahweh in the desert. Moses at first refuses to go to Pharaoh, but Yahweh encourages him.

Verse 2a ("And the angel of Yahweh appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of the bush") cannot have been written by the author of verse 2b, for the subject of 2b ("and *he* looked") is

Moses, and not an angel. Hence we must assume that 2a was added by the priestly Yahwist (Jp). The original text apparently read "Yahweh" and not "angel of Yahweh." Jp liked the old colorful half-mythological tradition and restored it. The Hezekian editor may have added "angel of" to avoid a gross anthropomorphism. Verses 8 and 17, with their promise that Yahweh will bring Israel into "a good and large land," may also stem from Jp. Verses 19-22, forecasting later events, appears to have been a Hezekian "prophecy." Exodus 4:1-8 (miracles in the event the people refuse to believe) are out of place before Exodus 4:10-12; they too were added by Jp. Exodus 4:9 (turning the water into blood) stems from Pn (see pp. 120-122, 230). After Moses' refusal to go to Pharaoh and Yahweh's encouragement of him, we read of Moses refusing again. Yahweh becomes angry with Moses and tells him that his brother Aaron will be his mouthpiece (v. 13-17). This second refusal was apparently added to introduce the priest Aaron, who is not mentioned in the Yahwist nucleus (which from now on will be referred to as N). Here we see a great difference between N and Jp. N mentions only Moses and the elders, ignoring the priests; but the revising priests, of course, see the priest as an important element of the religion of Yahweh revealed through Moses. "I shall be with your mouth and with his mouth" (v. 15). Yahweh reveals his will through both prophet and priest.

Exodus 4:27-31 (Moses meets Aaron) was another logical addition by Jp. In verse 29, Jp originally read, "the elders of Israel," not "*all* the elders of the *children of Israel*," which is a later expansion. In v. 31, the awkwardly styled text also betrays revision. The original said simply: "And the people believed that Yahweh remembered their misery, and they bowed down devoutly." The words "the children of Israel," "and he saw," are redundant.

Jp holds that Canaan is the land of Yahweh, hence a good Israelite would not have left his country to go abroad; whereas in N, Abraham leaves Canaan for Egypt in time of famine, Jp in Genesis 26 explicitly declares that Yahweh warned Isaac not to go down to Egypt. "Stay in this land which I have promised to your descendants" (v. 23). Jacob could go to Egypt only because Yahweh explicitly gave him permission. "Do not fear to go down to Egypt; for I will there make of you a great nation. I will go down with you to Egypt, and I will also bring you up again" (Gen 46:3,4).

This is part of a theophany which Jacob had in Beer Sheba, where he offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac (v. 1ab). This passage, which has characteristics typical of Jp, confirms our thesis that the patriarchal theophanies and sacrifices at the Canaanite sanctuaries are attributable to Jp and not to N. The N text of chapter 46 ran: "And Israel took his journey with all that he had" (v. 1:1aa), followed by: "and *he* sent Judah before him to Joseph, to show the way to Goshen" (v. 28). The fact that the second clause has no subject is proof of this—the subject is "Israel" in verse 1. (Verses 5-27 are later additions.)

Moses was given similar permission. N records that Moses returned to his father-in-law, whom he told that he wanted to return to his brethren in Egypt (Ex 4:18). The enlightened universalist N saw no nationalist objections to Moses' going to Egypt to help his brethren, as he did not object to Abraham's going to Egypt in a time of famine (Gen 12). But Jp added: "Yahweh said to Moses in Midian: 'Go, return to Egypt'" (Ex 4:19). It is obvious that that verse was not written by N. If N had shared Jp's nationalistic theology, he would have mentioned this divine permission before, not after, verse 18.

An analysis of the plagues is not easy. Being very popular, the text was often copied and consequently frequently expanded. Certain features of one plague were copied into the account of another plague; new features were added to make the miracle even more miraculous. But we have five complete, picturesquely described accounts of plagues, ascribable to the same author (foul water, frogs, flies, hailstorm, and locusts), two incomplete accounts in a similar style (cattle plague and darkness), and two accounts of an entirely different style and character (gnats and boils). The last two plagues were evoked by Moses and Aaron. There is a decisive contest with the Egyptian magicians; it is God who hardens Pharaoh's heart, not Pharaoh, as in the J document. The two accounts referred to were obviously written by Pn, who stresses the idea that God will inflict heavy punishments on the Egyptian gods (Ex 6:6;7:4; Nu 33:4). The complete accounts, picturesque and factual, are to be attributed to N, while the two less colorful and less complete accounts are Jp's. These are cattle plague and darkness (Ex 10:21-23a).

The record of the cattle plague is not picturesque and imaginative, but rather stresses the miraculous. Yahweh will distinguish

between the cattle of Israel and Egypt and none of the cattle of Israel will die (read *mikneh* for the awkward *livne* in Ex 9:4). "And Yahweh set a time, saying, 'Tomorrow Yahweh will do this thing in the land'" (v. 5). Since these two features are described as though this is their first mention, they may stem from Jp and were later transferred from this account to that of the previous plagues. In any case, this is proof that Jp had a nationalistic theology and emphasized the miraculous activity of the deity, thus justifying our analysis of Exodus 4:1-8, which ascribed these miracles to Jp.

Exodus 10:29 relates how Pharaoh warned Moses not to see him again, on pain of death. "And Moses said: 'As you say! I will not see your face again.'" This was originally followed by: "And he went out from Pharaoh in hot anger" (Ex 11:8b). Exodus 11:1-3, God's announcement of the last plague, and verses 4-8a, Moses' announcement of the death of all the firstborn, are obvious interpolations. Verses 7-8a, as the term "children of Israel" indicates, must have been of post-Solomonic origin. The whole forecast seems to be a later addition, copied from Exodus 12:29,30, with the difference that the original text read: "from the firstborn of Pharaoh who sits on his throne to the firstborn of the captive who is in the dungeon"; and the interpolated forecast read: "from the firstborn of Pharaoh who sits on his throne to the firstborn of the maid-servant who is behind the mill." The interpolator must have thought that God punished only the Egyptians, but not their captives who belonged to another nation. Comparing the two texts, one finds that the original text has also been expanded. In verse 30 we read: "And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants and all the Egyptians, and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where one was not dead." Exodus 11:6 reads: "And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there has never been, nor ever shall be again." The unexpanded text may have read more soberly: "And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and his servants, and there was a great cry in Egypt." The next verse, 31, has been expanded, too. "In the night" was repeated, "Aaron" was added, and somebody also inserted: "you and the children of Israel." The unexpanded text ran: "And he called Moses and said: 'Rise up, go forth from among the people and go serve Yahweh, as you have said.'"

The unexpanded text of Exodus 12:29-31 also makes sense if what

happened was not the massacre of all the firstborn, but only the death of the firstborn of Pharaoh, as it is forecast in Exodus 4:23. The dramatic climax of the story would be even greater if such were really the case. The original N document was interested in relating not miracles but the human drama of a weak and stubborn king, who could not learn from hard facts. The calamities of his people did not overly concern Pharaoh. But the moment his own firstborn son, the future king, died, Pharaoh gave in. Only his selfishness could overcome his stubbornness. Even if there was an old tradition of a divine massacre of all firstborn, it is doubtful that the humane and enlightened author of the N document would have mentioned it. He has Abraham pray to the "Judge of the whole world" to save Sodom, for there might be some righteous people among the wicked population. Similarly, the master narrator mentions the existence of righteous Egyptians (Ex 1:15—the midwives were Egyptians—9:20;10:7). N condemns Simeon's and Levi's violence against man and beast (Gen 34:26,30;49:5-7). He does not record the aggressive invasion of Canaan under Joshua and his successors. When the Flood came, the righteous family of Noah was saved and seven pairs of each species of animals were saved. It is not plausible that this peace-loving author, whose God was a merciful and loving God (Ex 34:6) and a God of universal justice (Gen 18:25), should believe that He had decreed a massacre of all the firstborn of both man and beast as punishment for one wicked and stubborn king.

Now, there was an old law going back to the pre-monarchic time that stated that the firstborn of man and beast should be given to Yahweh (Ex 22:28,29). Some priestly authority must have connected this law with the story of the Exodus. This connection is pre-supposed by the Hezekian editor (Ex 13:15) and by PC (Nu 3:12,13;8:16,17). Pn records that this law dealing with the firstborn was given to Israel immediately after the Exodus (Ex 13:1,12,13). He does not, as the Hezekian and Josian editors do, say explicitly that God had commanded such an offering because he had killed all the firstborn in Egypt. Pn is very pedantic. If he had introduced this feature, he would have made it explicit more than once. He took it for granted, but did not elaborate on it. Hence, one is led to the conclusion that the account of the massacre of the firstborn was first presented as the explanation for the old law by Jp, the Jerusalemite priests who revised the N document. It is possible that

the priests heard the explanation from the priests of Shiloh. In that case, N had omitted it consciously, and Jp had restored it. If that is so, Exodus 12:29 read in the N document: "And it came to pass at midnight that Yahweh smote the firstborn of Pharaoh." The priests preserved this text, inserting after "smote" the words "all the firstborn in the land of Egypt." After "firstborn of Pharaoh," they inserted "who sat on the throne to the firstborn of the captive," etc., adding "from" before the first "firstborn." Then they added the awkward: "all the firstborn of beasts." No good stylist like N would have written such an awkward sentence. He would have written (like all the other writers): "God smote all the firstborn of Egypt, men and beasts."

After Exodus 12:31 the following verses are to be attributed to N: 32-34,39a (The Israelites are expelled from Egypt and there is no time for the dough to be leavened). The Ephraimite annotator E added verses 35,36: "And the children of Israel . . . asked for jewels and garments." This annotation refers to Exodus 11:2,3, where God tells Moses to have the Israelites ask their neighbors for silver and gold jewelry. Then the text adds: "And Yahweh gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants and in the sight of the people." This emphasis on Moses as the charismatic leader is characteristic of E, as proved by Exodus 33:7-11 and Numbers 12:7-8, passages which are generally ascribed to E.

Apparently the figure of Moses assumed a supernatural and nearly godlike character in the prophetic circles of Elijah and Elisha, for Moses was the only prophet to whom God spoke face to face as to a fellow man (Ex 33:11; Nu 12:8,9). The reference in Deuteronomy 34:10 ("no prophet like Moses whom Yahweh knew face to face") stems from the Hezekian editor, who followed the line, originally initiated by Elijah and Elisha. Elijah himself went to Horeb in the footsteps of his master Moses (1 Ki 19).

The following text, Exodus 12:37-42 (apart from 39a,b, which may be attributed to N) has all the characteristics of the numerologist Pn. The author knows all the camp places, the exact number of the men on foot (600,000) and the exact length of the Hebrews' stay in Egypt (430 years). The ordinance about the Passover, however, which excludes the foreigner, but includes the domestic slave,

has the mark of PC's authorship. It was interpolated by the PC editor as a conclusion of the Exodus story.

The nucleus of Exodus 13:1-16 (v. 1,2,12,13) stems from Pn. Dealing with the firstborn, he stresses that the human firstborn must be redeemed. This section was expanded by two hortatory sermons added by the Hezekian editors (v. 3-11 and 14-16).

The story in Exodus 13:17-19 is the continuation of 12:36, which was written by the Ephraimite prophetic annotator, who, as an Ephraimite, was interested in Joseph's bones, and hence noted that Moses did not forget to take them with him when he left Egypt. Pn, who did not know the annotations of E, continued his text in Exodus 13:20 and 14:1-4. The citation of the exact itinerary, and the fact that it is God and not Pharaoh who hardens Pharaoh's heart, again bespeak Pn.

N's dramatic master story, which we left at Exodus 12:39a,ba (39bb is a later expansion), finds its natural sequel in Exodus 14:5, 6,9aa (Egypt pursues Israel). Pn added verses 7,8,9ab,b, as "God hardened Pharaoh's heart," "six hundred chariots," and "children of Israel" indicate. Thus far the analysis presents no difficulties. But who wrote Exodus 13:21,22, which informs us that Yahweh went before the wandering Israelites in a pillar of cloud and fire?

The problem of divine guidance during the forty years of the desert wandering must have occupied many thinking Israelites. Consequently we have a number of different versions and traditions. In Exodus 14:19 two versions are juxtaposed. "And the angel of Elohim, who went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of cloud removed from before them and stood behind them." The first is E's annotation on the J document. In Exodus 23:20,21,23, describing the angel who leads the way, we apparently have E's version. In Exodus 32:34, Yahweh tells Moses to lead the people. E also adds (in v. 34ab) "My angel shall go."

Besides these two supranatural versions there was also a realistic or naturalistic one, found in Numbers 10:31. Moses says to Hobab: "Do not leave us, I pray you; for you know how we are to encamp in the wilderness and you will serve as eyes for us." Here we have a human rather than a divine guide in the person of Hobab, Moses' Midianite brother-in-law. In verse 32, Moses asks Hobab to stay with the people, promising to treat him with great friendliness.

But Hobab does not answer. We do not know whether he consents or refuses. Instead we read: "And they went from the mountain of Yahweh for three days, and the ark of the covenant of Yahweh went before them three days' journey, to seek out a resting place for them. And the cloud of Yahweh was over them by day when they set forward from the camp." Then Moses recites the ark liturgy.

If there was a censorship or revision by the priests, it was at this point. If Hobab had accepted this offer of Moses, no supranatural guide would be necessary. Therefore, Hobab's answer was suppressed, and we read of a divine guide, the Ark. The J document tells us nothing of the Ark before this. Perhaps after Israel's backsliding at Mount Sinai the pillars of fire and cloud were replaced by the Ark. But no text tells us about this.

We learn of the origin of the Ark only from PC in Exodus 25, before the story of the golden calf. And we have an account in Deuteronomy 10, which tells us that Moses made the Ark when he hewed the second tables; the passages concerning the Ark belong to JD (see p. 243). That would set the date of the making of the Ark at a time after Israel sinned. The J document mentions the Ark only occasionally in Numbers 14:44 ("and the ark of the covenant of Yahweh and Moses did not depart out of the camp"). This remark may have been added by the same Yahwist priests who revised the text in Numbers 10, that is Jp. So we come to the conclusion that the enlightened master narrator related the story of the friendly Midianite Hobab; the revising priests, however, introduced (or rather reintroduced) the supernatural guide, first in the form of a pillar of fire and cloud, and later, after the people sinned, in the form of the Ark. Then Exodus 13:21,22 were added by Jp.

Another great puzzle is the story of Baal Peor (Nu 25:1ff.). The story implies four different punishments:

- 1) Verse 4: Yahweh tells Moses to hang all the leaders of the people.
- 2) Verse 5: Moses tells the judges to slay the guilty ones.
- 3) Verse 9: 14,000 are killed by a plague.
- 4) Phinehas halts the plague by killing a guilty couple caught in the act.

We may best assign 1) to Jp; 2) to E (judges were introduced un-

der Elisha—see p. 79); 3) to Pn (exact and large figure); 4) to PC (Aaronite priesthood). N is out of the question as one of the authors. He regarded Yahweh as patient and merciful (Exodus 34: 6), as he believed Moses did (Moses prays for the people to be forgiven: Ex 32:30-32; Nu 12:13).

From this we learn that in Jp's opinion, Yahweh was a terror-inspiring majesty. We find the same character of Yahweh in Gen 3:24 and in 12:17 (see pp. 220, 215), both verses which have to be ascribed to Jp. It is also Jp who concludes the story of Israel's defection from Yahweh at Sinai (Ex 32:35) with, "And Yahweh caused a plague among the people because they worshiped (read: *'avdu*) the idol which Aaron made." When Yahweh descended on Mount Sinai in the midst of fire, he said to Moses: "Go down, warn the people, lest they break through to Yahweh to gaze and many of them perish" (Ex 19:21). "And also the priests who come near to Yahweh shall keep back, lest Yahweh break out upon them" (v. 22).

No one else but Jp could have written these verses. For these sentences are presupposed by the writer of verses 23 and 24. These two sentences were added by Pn, because he himself had interpolated detailed measures that were intended to prevent the people from nearing the mount (v. 10-16). Since 17 and 19 stem from E ("Elohim" in both), the J document can be found only in verses 18, 20-22, 25. Verse 18aa,b is a naturalistic description of a volcano. Verse 20b informs us that Yahweh called Moses, and Moses went up the mount. These clauses apparently stem from N. Verse 18ab ("because Yahweh descended upon it in fire"), however, is a forecast of verse 20a and appears to be a critical revision of verse 18aa. The original writer ascribes the quaking and smoking to a volcanic outbreak. The revisor stresses that it was not a natural but a supernatural event. Apparently we have to ascribe the naturalistic, factual description to the enlightened N, and the theological revision to Jp who lays great stress on the miraculous. After stating that the heavy smoke was an extraordinary event, caused by the personal appearance of Yahweh, naturally Jp had to warn the people not to come near Him.

The relation between man and deity is quite different in N's records and in Jp's additions. Thus Exodus 33:12-23 is the old record of the J document. But the text is confusing as it stands. The

best analysis for this difficult text seems to be that N originally read: "And Moses said to Yahweh [v. 12aa]: 'If I have found favor in your sight, show me now your ways so that I may understand you [v. 13aa,ab]. And Yahweh said to Moses: 'I will fulfill your wish, for you have found favor in my sight and I love you' [v. 17]. I will make all my goodness pass before you and if you call on the name of Yahweh before me, I will be helpful to whom I will be helpful and will show mercy to whom I will show mercy' [v. 19]. And he called on the name of Yahweh, and Yahweh proclaimed: 'Yahweh is a God, merciful and helpful, patient and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness. He grants mercy to thousands, and forgives iniquity, transgression and sin.' And Moses made haste and bowed his head devoutly toward the earth" (34:5b,6ab,b,7a,8).

After God refused Moses' offer to be punished vicariously for his sinning people, because Moses feels personally responsible, Moses wishes to know the character of Yahweh. Yahweh reveals himself as a non-violent, non-vindictive, and untemperamental God, humane and trustworthy. These passages are the climax of the humane and enlightened N document.

The revising priests regarded this religion as too sublime and soft. The traditional Yahweh was a God of thunderstorm and fire, smashing down his foes with terrific strength that the people might fear and respect him. Hence the priests made these additions: First, God smites the people with a plague (Ex 32:35). Then He tells Moses that He does not wish to be in their midst; or if He did so, He would consume them (Ex 33:1,3). When the people hear this, they mourn and put off their ornaments (v. 4). (Ex 33:2,5-11 have the characteristics of E and are obviously E's interpolations). Moses asks Yahweh not to give up this people, for it is His people, since he, Moses, had found favor in Yahweh's sight. Verse 14 is corrupt. Read *vatomar* for *vayomar*—"you say" for "he will say." Verses 15 and 16 are explanatory glosses for the corrupt verse 14. The meaning of verse 14 is: "Say 'I will go,' then I will give you rest." God agrees and then Moses asks God to show him His glory. Yahweh is willing to appear to Moses, but no human being can see God's face. Moses must go up to Him, unaccompanied and bearing two new tables of stone, and then He will appear to Moses and reveal His name to him. Yahweh is vindictive as well as merciful. "He does not clear the guilty, and punishes the iniquity of the fathers

upon the children and the children's children to the third and fourth generation." Moses is glad that Yahweh is willing to be in the midst of the people. Then Yahweh makes a new covenant, based on a ritual code (Ex 34:10-26). The present text was expanded by the Hezekian editors. They added Ex 34:10ab-13,15,16,24.

Jp did not invent this ritual covenant, but took it from the last section of the pre-monarchic Covenant Code (Ex 23:10-19 substantially). This code was first written down by the priests of Shiloh, probably by Samuel, the reorganizer of cult and justice (1 Sam 7:15-17), a literate man (1 Sam 10:25). The Jp annotators altered the text slightly in accordance with the needs of their time. Jp forbade molten images of Yahweh, not only gold and silver images (as Ex 20:20). The human firstborn must be redeemed, as must the firstborn of a donkey, or else killed. The feast of the first fruits had become a feast of weeks, and the Passover festival had become part of the cult of Yahweh.

The oldest record of the institution of Passover is found in Exodus 12:21-23, which connects the name with the Exodus. Yahweh saving the homes of the Israelites from the Destroyer may be a reference to the massacre of the firstborn, which was first recorded by Jp. The blood rite, the terror-inspiring fierce and wrathful Yahweh who smashed his foes but spares his people, suits the general outlook of Jp. The southern term *shachat* ("slaughter") is used in Exodus 12:21 and 34:25, and not used in the Covenant Code, written by the Ephraimite Samuel, where we find *zavach* (Ex 23:18). By his new interpretation of Passover, connecting it with the firstborn massacre story, Jp had presumably turned this old pagan nomadic festival into a Yahwist festival. N had only connected the eating of unleavened bread with the Exodus (Ex 12:34,39).

THE PRIESTLY YAHWIST IN NUMBERS

The first reference made by the Yahwist master narrator concerning Israel's plan of entering the sown land, occurs in the narrative of the spies (Nu 13,14). The text of this popular story has been expanded time and again, and has undergone drastic changes in content, meaning, and purpose. The sober, quite factual N record may have run as follows:

Moses sent some men (Nu 13:3) to spy the land (v. 16), and said

to them: "Go up into the Negeb yonder, and go up into the hill country, and see what the land is, and whether the people who dwell in it are strong or weak, whether they are few or many, and whether the land that they dwell in is good or bad, and whether the cities that they dwell in are camps or strongholds, and whether the land is rich or poor, and whether there is wood in it or not. Be of good courage and bring some of the fruit of the land." Now the time was the season of the first ripe grapes (v. 17b-20). They went up into the Negeb and came to Hebron; and Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the descendants of Anak, were there. Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt (v. 22). And they came to the Valley of Eshcol ("cluster") and cut down from there a branch with clusters of grapes and some pomegranates and figs (v. 23aa,ab [not ac], b). And they came to Moses who was in Kadesh; they reported to him and showed the fruit of the land (v. 26). And they told him, "We came to the land to which you sent us; it flows with milk and honey, and this is its fruit. Yet the people who dwell in the land are strong, and the cities are fortified and very large; and besides we saw the descendants of Anak there. The Amalekites dwell in the land of the Negeb; the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites dwell in the hill country; and the Canaanites dwell by sea, and along the Jordan (v. 27-29). And there we saw the Nephilim; and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight (v. 33).

Then the people raised a loud cry and wept that night (Nu 14: 1ab,b). And they said, "Would that we had died in the land of Egypt! Or would that we had died in the wilderness! Why does Yahweh bring us into this land to fall by the sword? Our wives and our little ones will become a prey; were it not better for us to go back to Egypt?" And they said to one another, "Let us choose a captain, and go back to Egypt" (v. 2b-4). Then Yahweh said to Moses, "How long with this people despise me (v. 11a)? Now since the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwell in the valleys, turn tomorrow and set out for the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea" (v. 25). And they rose early in the morning, and went up to the heights of the hill country (v. 40a). But Moses said (v. 41aa), "Do not go up lest you be struck down before your enemies, for Yahweh is not among you. For there the Amalekites and the Canaanites are before you, and you shall fall by the sword" (v. 42,43). But they presumed to go up to the heights of the hill country (v. 44a). Then the Amalekites and the Canaanites came down, and defeated them and pursued them, even to Hormah (v. 45).

This lucid, candid, and picturesque story was written by the master narrator for two purposes: first, to show that a people that wants to settle in a country must inform itself of the country beforehand—that is to say, the people must ascertain the important facts by asking the proper questions. Second, when a mob is overcome by fear and anxiety, no balanced judgment is to be expected. The mob will veer from one extreme to another, from cowardice to fool-hardiness, both ending inevitably in defeat.

N manifestly is not in favor of military adventures. He has in mind the kind of peaceful infiltration of a sown land he describes in Genesis 34 and in all the stories about the patriarchs. He condemns Simeon and Levi for their aggressive militarism and massive retaliation, and tells us that under Moses Israel made peace overtures to Edom and other peoples. Abraham, Jacob, and Moses were all peace-loving leaders, according to N.

This story of the defeat of Hormah was a stumbling block to all military nationalistic commentators. They viewed the conquest of Canaan as a holy war, for Yahweh had promised to give this land to Israel. Consequently, Jp, the revising priests of the united kingdom, altered the text in two respects. First, they added a description of the Judahite leader Caleb quieting and encouraging the depressed mob. "Let us go up at once, and occupy it; for we are well able to overcome it" (Nu 13:30,31). Second, Jp has God swear that of all the spies only Caleb will see the land (Nu 14:21a, 22a, excluding "my glory and my signs." 23,24). Jp also inserted a second note on the battle for Hormah, according to which the Israelites, after making a solemn vow to Yahweh, defeated the Canaanites and reconquered Hormah (Nu 21:1-3).

It is highly improbable that the accounts of both the defeat and the victory at Hormah were written by the same Yahwist author. Since the original report of the spies ended with Numbers 13:33, the passage describing Caleb's encouragement (v. 30) and the objection of the other spies (v. 31) must have been interpolated. Since Pn mentions Caleb and Joshua as the two spies who encourage the Israelite mob and praise the land, Numbers 13:30, which mentions only Caleb, must be older. That would confirm our assumption that it stems from Jp.

Pn, to whom the rest of chapter 13 and 14:2a,5-9,¹36-39 may be attributed, introduces twelve spies, ten of them cowards, and two, Caleb and Joshua, the representatives of Judah and Ephraim, courageous men. The tradition that there were twelve spies, one man for each tribe, must have been older than Pn, for it is also familiar to ED (Dt 1:23). In Numbers, E makes no contribution to the story of the spies.

The Hezekian editor uses this occasion like so many others to chastise Israel for its ingratitude. He relates how God intended to exterminate Israel and to make Moses the father of a better nation. Moses, however, succeeds in frustrating this plan by reminding God of his forgiving love (Nu 14:11b-20). This attitude may reflect the downfall of the northern kingdom, leaving the southern State to be the sole remnant of Israel.

The Josian editor, thinking of the Manasseh period, stresses that the evil old generation must die, and expresses the hope that their children will constitute a loyal generation under new leaders (Nu 14:26-35). PC regarded the people as so wicked that only the appearance of the glory of God had prevented them from stoning the two spies loyal to Yahweh (Nu 14:10). This account is more comprehensible in the light of the report that King Manasseh also "shed innocent blood very much" (2 Ki 21:16). Characteristically PC has the harsh condemnation of the whole generation as evil come as a revelation to Moses and Aaron (Nu 14:26), that is to the political and priestly chiefs, who in the days of PC were King Josiah and the high priest Hilkiah.

Whereas N, who had witnessed the bloody wars of the Davidic era, disapproved of military aggression as being opposed to Yahweh's will, all the commentators blamed the people for their lack of courage in fighting Yahweh's wars.

In the Yahwist document, the story of the revolt of the Reubenite leaders (Nu 16) followed immediately after the story of the spies. Numbers 15 is undoubtedly PC's. For Numbers 16 see pp. 20, 39; a complete text analysis is found in B.o.B. pp. 233-235 and in Appendix 4. An analysis of the story of the blossoming rod (Nu 17:16-26) has been given on p. 20. Numbers 17:1-15,

1. 14:9 is corrupt. Read: Ki yahveh yilachem lanu 'im sar 'elohim me-'alehem ("For Yahweh will fight for us, if God withdraws from them").

Hebrew text (Aaron halts a plague), 18 (dues given to priests and Levites), 19 (the red heifer ritual) stem substantially from PC. The story of Numbers 20:1-13, however, has an old nucleus and was elaborated by Pn.

Numbers 20:1b, "The people stayed in Kadesh, and Miriam died there and was buried there," probably is N and originally came after Numbers 12:16b. Numbers 13:26 proves that the old record of the J document has the spies go out from Kadesh. Pn modified the itinerary and fixed the point of departure of the spies at the wilderness of Paran (Nu 13:26). Consequently, he added after Numbers 12:16a "and they encamped in the wilderness of Paran." The same Pn displaced to Numbers 20:1b the record of Israel's stay at Kadesh and Miriam's death there. According to Numbers 33, there were nineteen stations between Hazeroth, where Miriam was shut up outside the camp for seven days (Nu 12:15), and Kadesh, where she died. According to Numbers 33:38, Aaron died at Mount Hor, the station which followed Kadesh, in the fortieth year after the Exodus. Pn assumed that Miriam and Aaron died the same year that Moses did, shortly before the invasion of Canaan.

Why did not Aaron and Moses enter the promised land? The answer to this question is found in the account of Numbers 20:1-13. The account consists of a nucleus, which describes how Moses struck the rock with his divine staff, "and water came out abundantly, and the people drank and their cattle" (Nu 20:11). The nucleus consists of verses 2a,3ab,4,5,7,8aa,b,9,10b,11. Recorded by Pn, it was part of the old pre-Davidic tradition. Exodus 17 has preserved two versions of it, one by N (v. 3-5a,6ab,b,7aa,bb,bc), with interpolations by E (2a,ba,5b,6aa,7ab,ba). N fixes the episode at Massah, and E at Meribah. Pn read in his Tetrateuch only the record of N, not that of his northern contemporary E. So he relates his Meribah account at this point, transposing it to Kadesh to the last year of the stay in the wilderness, and explaining Kadesh as the place of Yahweh's desecration by Moses and Aaron, who, in striking the rock rather than addressing it, showed that they did not believe in Yahweh's supernatural power. Consequently, they were not worthy of leading the people into Canaan. Deuteronomy 32:48-52, which was added by Pn, refers to this explanation. Deuteronomy 33:8 refers to both Massah and Meribah. In Massah, Moses was tested and found fit; in Meribah he strove against God and he was

found failing. These verses also stem from Pn (see pp. 195, 196). However, Numbers 20:2b,3bb,6,8ab,10a were interpolated by PC (Aaron is of equal rank with Moses; the glory of God and the Tent of Meeting indicate PC).

In the Yahwist document, the account of the revolt of the Reubenite leaders (Numbers 16) was followed by Numbers 20:14ff.: the negotiations with Edom, the detour after their failure, the snake plague, the Well song, King Sihon's aggression and defeat, ending with the story of Balak and Balaam. The substance of these stories, which were annotated by E and Pn, stems from the Yahwist master narrator (N).

N is the source for Numbers 20:14-18 (negotiation with Edom about a peaceful passage). The words "and our fathers" in verse 15, and "he sent an angel" in verse 16, are interpolated, the first probably by PC, the latter by E. Verse 21 is N, but verses 19,20 are only elaborations of 17,18. These verses are post-Solomonic as "the children of Israel" (v. 19) indicates. The account of Aaron's death at the mountain of Hor (Nu 20:22-29; 21:4aa), which refers to Numbers 20:7-13, but is in contradiction to Deuteronomy 10:6, was annotated by Pn. Since N's account of the negotiations with Edom, ending Numbers 20:21, is continued in Numbers 21:4ab, the episode of Israel's victory at Hormah (Nu 21:1-3), which contradicts the account of the defeat at Hormah (Nu 14:45; N), is old and stems from Jp, as "Israel" in place of "children of Israel" indicates.

N is the source for Numbers 21:4ab,b,6,9 (the people become impatient, are bitten by snakes; Moses makes a copper serpent and cures those who gaze at it). This is too worldly for E, who consequently adds verses 5,7,8, in which the people confesses their guilt, and Moses prays to God. The itinerary of verses 10 and 11 was added by Pn; verses 12,13a, however, belong to N, whose style differs from the stereotypes of Pn. Verses 13b,14,15 (the quotation from the Book of Yahweh's Wars) may be a scholarly gloss, probably interpolated by the erudite Pn. In verse 16, only the word "in Beer" is N, following verse 13a ("and they were encamped in Beer"). The rest of the verse is also a scholarly gloss, added by the glossator of verse 13b-15. The Well Song may be put in by N. Instead of *umimidbar* ("from the desert," 18) the original text may have read *umib'eer* ("and from Beer"), with LXX. The Sihon

story (Nu 21-32) is N with some expansions (v. 24bb, 25a, 29bb). The story of Og (Nu 33-35) may have been added by E. Numbers 22:2 implies that the Og story was not in the J document; but it is familiar to the historic introduction of Deuteronomy (Dt 3, ED).

The Balaam story, prose and oracles, form a literary unit (see Nu 24:10, which cannot have been an added gloss). Pn inserted "and Moab felt a loathing for the Israelites" (Nu 22:3b; cf. Ex 1:12b). He also added "elders of Midian" in Numbers 22:4,7, because he held that the Midianites were the villains of the piece (see Nu 25:17,18). E added the Elohist portions: Numbers 22:9-12, 20, 37, 38; 23:4, 27ba; 24:2b (see p. 143).

The episode of the talking donkey and the angel with the drawn sword is reminiscent of the features of the talking serpent and the cherubim with the flaming sword of Genesis 3:24 (see p. 220). Both features were interpolated into the N document by Jp, who likes to preserve old popular half-mythological traditions. That the donkey episode, Numbers 22:22-35, was interpolated, can be proved from the fact that verse 32 uses the term *r'galim* for "times," whereas 24:10 uses *p'amim*. The episode was added by Jp, because Balaam was represented in the universalist N document as a noble character who sets loyalty to Yahweh above all such personal advantages as money and honors. The nationalistic Jp tried to show that Balaam only refused to curse Israel because Yahweh compelled him not to. Pn turned Balaam into a wicked enemy of Israel, and described how he was killed along with the Midianite princes (Nu 31:8).

The humane universalist N, who did not share the bias against foreigners, of which all the other nationalist commentators were guilty, made a non-Hebrew seer the mouthpiece of Israel's greatness. N hated national or personal self-glorification, but wanted to conclude his book with a poetic vision of the Davidic age, the age of the united nation. So he chose the Aramean seer as his mouthpiece. (See more details about the Balaam oracles on pp. 179-185.)

The account of Israel's involvement with the daughters of Moab and the drastic execution of the chiefs of the people (Nu 25:1-5) is certainly a very old record, as the use of "Israel" also indicates. It is highly improbable that the story was related in this crude fashion by the humane master narrator. An analysis of Numbers 25 has been given on p. 163.

The last place where we find a trace of Jp is in the account concerning the manner in which the tribes of Reuben and Gad appropriated East Jordan. This record has been amply annotated by the Ephraimite and Jerusalemite commentators. The nucleus stems from Jp. To Jp must be attributed Numbers 32:1,2a (the tribes see the fertile land; possessing a "great multitude of cattle," they say to Moses), 5 ("Give us the land, let us stop here"); 6 (Moses refuses to do so), 20b (unless they agree first to fight along with the other tribes), 21 (till the enemy is driven out of the land), 22a (after which they can go back to East Jordan with a good conscience); 23a (if not, they will have sinned against God); 25 (Reuben and Gad accept this decision).

The Ephraimite E annotated verses 16,17 ("we will build sheepfolds for our flocks and towns for our little ones and we will not return home until Israel has conquered the whole land"), and verses 26,27 (Moses accepts these conditions). Here, as in other places, E tries to exculpate the (northern) tribes and to clear them of any blame.

The Hezekian editor added his usual sermon on Israel's lack of faith (v. 7-15). PC interpolated in the sermon the reminder that all those of the Exodus generation who were over twenty years of age died (except Caleb and Joshua, who were saved), because they did not want to fight for Canaan (v. 11ab,13). PC also added verses 2b-4, 18-20a,22b,23b,24,28-32 (Moses gives a special order to Eleazar, Joshua, and the tribal leaders to give East Jordan to Reuben and Gad if they fulfill their promises).

Numbers 32:33-42 consists of two segments. One segment describes which towns the tribes had built (v. 34-39,41,42); the other segment stresses that Moses gave certain territories to the two and a half tribes (v. 33,40). The first segment may stem from Jp, the second from E. E lays great stress on the authority of Moses.

The record in Numbers 32, here ascribed to Jp, cannot have been written by N. N is a humane artist, a teacher of human brotherhood and peaceful cooperation. Japhet was to live in the tents of Shem, and all the families of the earth were to share the blessing brought by the generous and peace-loving personality of Abraham. N does not believe in the strong man on horseback, in the military hero who kills thousands of human beings and spreads "the terror of God upon the population" (Gen 35:5). He sees man as warrior

(Gen 32:29), not against man and beast (Gen 49:6), but against the beast within man, which "couches at the door and snatches at you, but you must master it" (Gen 4:7). N sees as the real enemies of man, greed, lust, inhumanity, violence, impatience, lust for power and stubbornness, as his stories of Adam, Cain, Lamech, Sodom, Simeon-Levi, the Pharaoh of oppression, Amalek, Balak, and Sichon attest. All the human weaknesses serve N as material which he dramatizes for the purpose of humanizing and spiritualizing his generation.

But this account in Numbers 32 is the dry, undramatic narrative of a militant nationalist who tried to prove to his generation that the East Jordan tribes occupied their territory peacefully only after they had pledged to Yahweh and Israel (v. 22) that they would help the other tribes conquer the land promised them by Yahweh. For to fight the wars of Yahweh, even if aggressive and brutal, was the noblest duty of a good Israelite and worshiper of the thunder-and-war-god Yahweh.

Only Biblical criticism which is blind both to these antagonistic trends in the human soul and their manifestation in the Hebrew literature would have us believe that N and Jp are one and the same person. The style of the master narrator does not betray any trace of schizophrenia, but he emerges as a highly balanced and orderly mind even if we admire him as a genius.

The identification of N and Jp has led to misinterpretation and misvaluation of the creative period of the ancient Hebrew literature. In "Facts and Faith in Biblical History" (JBL, March 1951) R. H. Pfeiffer characterizes the J document as a fictional, theocentric, and chauvinistic epic. "He wrote an epic in which Jehovah the God of Israel is the central character and gradually fulfills his three promises to Abraham (Gen 12:1-4,7): 'I will make of thee a great nation . . . and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed . . . unto thy seed will I give this land.'" J attributes "to the un-failing guidance and help of Jehovah the glorious ascent of Israel from slavery in Egypt to the conquest of Canaan." "Jehovah supports Israel whether right or wrong."

If, as the present author has suggested, verse 7 was not written by the same narrator who wrote verses 1-2,3b, there must have been two different authors writing with two different purposes. N is a national universalist; Jp is a militant chauvinist. N's God is

humane, righteous, and peaceful; Jp's God is a passionate, vindictive, storm-and-war god. As the lean cows ate up the fat cows in the Joseph story, so in Pfeiffer's fictional epic the humane-cooperative N is consumed by the chauvinist-militant Jp. Instead of N, who wrote the stories from Adam to Balaam to teach his readers loyalty to the universal God of mercy, love, patience and truthfulness, we hear of an "epic of Israel from Abraham to the invasion of Canaan." In the accounts of the complaints and revolts of the desert generation this author cannot find any "glorious ascent" of Israel from slavery to the conquest of Canaan. He sees in the stories of Pharaoh, Sinai, the Graves of Lust, Miriam, the spies, the Reubenite revolt, and in the accounts of the peaceful offers to Edom and Sichon, and of Balaam, dramatizations of profound human wisdom and human foolishness; the same is true of the Genesis stories, especially of Genesis 1-11, which are completely human and non-Hebrew. Abraham's concern for Sodom, Abraham's peace treaties with Lot (ancestor of Ammon and Moab), and with the Philistine King Abimelech, Jacob's peace-making with Edom and the Aramean Laban, Japhet's cooperation with Shem—all are universalist, not chauvinist records. Consider these incidents: Joseph helps Egypt, Egypt helps Israel, Moses learns from Midian, Jacob condemns aggression against Canaan, the Egyptian midwives set humaneness above their king's brutal command, the Midianite Hobab serves as guide through the desert, the Syrian Balaam rejects all bribes in order to remain loyal to the God of truth. Where is there another epic or sacred book of any other ancient or modern nation so free from chauvinism as is this Yahwist master narrator (N), this humane genius? The confusion of N with Jp (and Pfeiffer's making Genesis 1-11 substantially an Edomite source) robs Israel of its master mind, and world literature of its most humane and profound contribution.

The Tenth-Century

Master Narrator

DATE OF N

Old documents which certainly belong to the period of the united kingdom, such as the story of the Ark (1 Sam 4-6) or the records from 2 Sam 9-1 Ki 5, never use the term *b'ne yisrael*. The Elijah-Elisha stories, which may still belong to the ninth century, use this term three times in passages which cannot be explained as later additions: 1 Ki 18:20 (the Carmel story); 1 Ki 19:10 (the Horeb story); 2 Ki 8:12 (the Hazael story). Since the writers of the J document (N and Jp) never use the term, although they have ample opportunity to do so, as all the commentators (E,Pn,Dt,PC) indicate, it must have been written before the Elijah period. Since E and Pn, which both belong to the second part of the ninth century, frequently use the term, it is probable that the term appeared even before the partition, at the earliest in the late Solomonic period (see also p. 128).

Another consideration confirms this assumption. N is rich in dramatic conflicts: Cain versus his brother, Shem-Japhet versus Canaan, the herdsmen of Abraham versus those of Lot and Abimelech, Abraham-Lot versus Sodom, Sarah versus Hagar, Isaac versus Rebekah, Jacob versus Esau, Jacob versus Laban, Joseph versus his brethren, Moses versus Pharaoh, Moses versus the people, Moses versus the Reubenite leaders, Israel versus Edom and Sihon, Balak versus Balaam, and Moab versus Israel. The conflicts are resolved without bloodshed, as long as the aggressor does not impose his bloody solution (as in the case of Sihon). The spirit of reconcilia-

tion and cooperation prevails. All these conflicts reflect antagonisms which played an ominous role at the time of the author. Ammon, Moab (= Lot); Edom, Aram, Philistines, Egyptians—all were enemies of Israel in the time of David. The author apparently is telling the stories in order to indicate a more humane and peaceful way of settlement than the historic one. He is humanizing and spiritualizing human relations.

If he had lived in a time when there was war between Israel and Judah, as in the days of Rehoboam and Asa (1 Ki 14:30; 15:16), the author certainly would have told the story of Joseph and his brethren in another way. In his story, Judah helps Joseph, and Joseph helps his brethren and forgives them. The conflict is not between the northern and southern tribes, as we should expect it to have been if the narrator had lived after the partition. N condemns Joseph's arrogance, Reuben's frivolity, Simeon's and Levi's cruelty. He praises Judah's sense of responsibility but does not conceal his weaknesses, as the Tamar story indicates. He shows Joseph to have been a generous and efficient ruler. N tries to be objective and non-partisan. But if he had lived after the partition and had wanted to preach cooperation and unity, he would have introduced a conflict between Joseph and Judah ending in reconciliation, as it is the case with the other conflicts mentioned above.

In the narrator's time, his countrymen had other conflicts than that between the northern and the southern kingdom. There was rivalry between the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes, and antagonism between the priests of the different shrines. There was the Abraham shrine at Hebron, the Isaac shrine at Beersheba, the Jacob shrine at Bethel, and the Joseph shrine at Shechem. N solves these conflicts by making Rachel younger and more beautiful, but Leah more fruitful. Abraham visited all four shrines and called on the name of Yahweh, the Creator of heaven and earth and the God of mercy and justice. There was no reason for quarrels between the tribes or shrines over priority or superiority.

All these old antagonisms and conflicts lost their relevance after the partition. If N had lived during that period, he would have made Israel and Judah hostile and rival brothers who finally become reconciled to establish a common nation. The question as to why the writers of the ninth century, E and Pn, did not relate such a story, is out of order. They were not creative story-tellers like

N; they were merely annotators. As such they had taken sides. E was more interested in the stories of Jacob and Joseph, the northern patriarchs, than in Abraham and Isaac, the southern patriarchs. E gave Reuben the chief role in saving Joseph. E tells us that the Ephraimite Joshua went up to Mount Sinai with Moses.

Pn shows a particular interest in Hebron, the southern sanctuary, which was the site of the patriarchal graves. Besides Joshua, whose leadership he acknowledges, he makes Caleb, the other courageous spy, the praiseworthy representative of Judah. Pn detests the Midianites, but is well disposed towards the southern nomads, the Ishmaelites (Gen 17:20; 25:9). He frequently calls the Canaanites Hittites (Gen 23; 26:34; 27:46), who were the "mother" population of Jerusalem (Ez 16:3); whereas E usually calls them Amorites, the northern native population. N calls them Canaanites.

The two poems, the Farewell Address of Jacob and the oracles of Balaam, are informative about the time in which they were written. Genesis 49 praises the land of Joseph as fertile and rich, but makes Judah the permanent ruler over his brethren. Balaam forecasts a mighty king who will deliver Israel from his foes, Moab, Edom and the *Philistines*. (For *kl bn sht* read *bn plsht*; the error was caused by the miswriting of "k" for "p"; see p. 183). Both poems apparently refer to the time of David or Solomon, but exclude the time after the partition. Even if N were not the composer of the two poems, they must have been part of his book. If he had written after the partition, he would have amended the text to fit his time.

The arguments for the substantial unity of Jacob's Farewell Address and the Oracles of Balaam are to be found in B.o.B, pp. 29-32, 154-160, and 76-84. Removing the Elohist annotations from the Balaam text leaves a smooth continuous N document to which all the oracles belong except the last one (Nu 24:23,24), which is manifestly a later appendix (see pp. 184, 185). The oracles were spoken from three high places: Bamoth Baal (Nu 22:41), Pisgah (Nu 23:14), and Peor (Nu 23:28). Balak built seven altars and slaughtered seven bullocks and seven rams three times. Numbers 24:10 (N) mentions that Balak had blessed Israel three times. The difference between the first two oracles and the third group is that at first Balaam made use of magic like a pagan soothsayer (Nu 22:7). At the end

of the second oracle (Nu 23:23; v. 24 is unconnected and bespeaks a sanguinary spirit; it is an expansion), Balaam learns from Yahweh that Israel's prophets do not resort to magic. Consequently, he gives up magic (Nu 24:1), falls into a trance, sees a vision of God, and hears His voice, like the ancient Hebrew seers of Yahweh (Nu 12:6), who may have started their utterances with the formula mentioned in Numbers 24:3,4,15,16; see 2 Sam 23:1.

There is nothing in the oracles before Numbers 24:23 which could not have been written in the Davidic age. In Numbers 23:9, the word *yithchashav* (it reckons itself) was probably not in the N document. The poet does not mean that Israel was separated from the other nations and did not consider itself as part of the nations. N considered that Abraham's descendants and Israel should be a blessing to all the families of the earth (Gen 12:2b,3b), not aloof from the other nations. The phrase "a people that shall dwell alone" means that Israel had no intentions of starting quarrels with other peoples by military raids or invasions. Balaam praises Israel as a peaceful, large and law-abiding people (*yashar*—doing the right). Because of the people's non-aggressive character, they live long and die "in good old age and full of years" (cf. Gen. 25:8; Ex 23:26; both N). Consequently, Balaam wishes to belong to this people, to be long-lived and to die the death of the virtuous (Nu 23:10). For *yithchashev* we would expect *yithchareh*: the people is one that does not wax hot at or quarrel with other nations (cpr. Prov 24:19; Jer 12:5). In verse 21, *'amal* and *'aven* mean, as in Ps 90:10, "toil and frustration." The *l'o* is to be read as *l'u* ("if"). "If He sees frustration in Jacob or if He is aware of toil (trouble) in Jacob, He, his god Yahweh, is with them"—i.e. God looks after the people when in need and helps them. Then the seer gives a concrete instance: "God brought them out of Egypt, for the heights of the mountains are His residence" (read *harim* for *r'em*, as in Ps 95:4). God is not confined to a particular land, but can be worshiped on all the high places of the earth. He could help Israel in Egypt as well as in Canaan. "Indeed there is no enchantment in Jacob and no magic in Israel; at the right time it will be said to Jacob and to Israel what God *will* do" (read *yif'al* for *po'al*).

All the ideas expressed in this oracle are in complete keeping with the theology of N. He believed that Yahweh had spoken to Adam, Cain and Noah, as he had to Abraham and Moses; in Midian and

Egypt as well as in Canaan. Yahweh is not the God of one people or of one land only. God can be worshiped with prayer and hymns but not with magic ritual. Neither Abraham nor Moses slaughtered bullocks and rams in abundance, as Balaam did, before they called on the name of Yahweh (cf. the conflict Abiathar-Adonijah versus Nathan-Solomon, pp. 204, 205).

N employs Balaam, the foreign seer, as the medium for his vision of an ideal Israel. It is characteristic of N that both in the middle of his book, that is at the end of the story of the patriarchs (Gen 49), and at the end of his book (Nu 23,24) he should express his conception of what Israel is and should be. Jacob, the ancestor of Israel, criticizes the tribes. Balaam, the foreigner, praises Israel, its people, religion, and nation. No nationalist would have written this. Hence, it is out of the question that the oracles of Numbers 23 could have been written by E, as Pfeiffer believes, or in the Josian period, as Mowinckel assumes. Jp questions Balaam's character. Pn makes Balaam the arch-enemy of Israel, a view which Deuteronomy 23 shares (23:5 JD). Jos 24:9,10 also stems from the Hezekian editors. PC follows the priestly tradition (Jos 13:22).

Professor H. G. May, in a critical review of the author's book "The Birth of the Bible" (Journal of Bible and Religion 1950, p. 252), tries to refute his theory that the ideas and ideals of the Balaam oracles are nothing but N's vision of the ideal Israel. Professor May refers to Albright's arguments for the twelfth-century origin of the Balaam oracles (JBL 1944, 207ff.) as more cogent. What about these arguments? Says Albright:

There is nothing in the matter of the poems which require a date in the tenth century or later for original composition. The references to royalty in 23:21 and 24:7 might belong to any age. It may well be, however, that these lines attracted royal interest and thus were partly responsible for the collection and preservation of the poems at some time during the United Monarchy. Moreover, 24:7 and 24:20 would naturally be connected by hearers with the victories of Saul and David over the Amalekites, while 24:17-19 might be equally well explained as referring to the victories of David over Moabites and Edomites. However, non tenth-century explanation of 24:21-24 is practicable without violent assumptions. The Kenites of later times were scattered among the Israelites; it is only when we go back to the Mosaic age that we find them taking

tangible shape as an autonomous people. Nor was there any great Mediterranean irruption in the tenth century. 24:23-24 refers to the invasion of the Sea peoples, mentioned in Egyptian sources, which refer to "North" and "Sea" [as in Albright's re-emended Masoretic text]; "tzi" (ship) is derived from the Egyptian "dzy." The date of irruption is about 1187 B.C. (Borchardt). Since the Libyan nomads of the Western desert joined the Sea peoples in their invasion of Egypt, it is only natural to suppose that the Amalekites of the Sinai region did also, though they were too insignificant from the Egyptian point of view at the time to merit special mention.

Albright's emended text runs as follows: Numbers 24:23f.: "The isles shall be gathered from the north and ships from the farthest sea, and while I gaze they pass over. So he also shall perish for ever." This emendation is a far cry from the Masoretic text, which reads: "Alas, who shall live when God does this? And ships shall come from Kittim and shall afflict Ashur and Eber, and he also shall come to destruction." Apart from 24b, both texts have only one word in common: *tzim* = ships. The word "north" is a free translation of "left"; the word "shall be gathered" is Albright's translation of "shall live" (*yichyeh*).

Let us assume for a moment that this bold emendation is correct. What does it prove? That some poet or singer of the early twelfth century heard of the irruption into the Mediterranean coast by foreign sea peoples of the north but did not take it seriously, expecting their defeat and destruction. Then some collector of Balaam oracles assumed that this old poem or song originated with the Syrian seer he had heard of, and included it in his collection of alleged Balaam oracles. Then the author of the J document, or whoever was responsible for the record of our Balaam stories, uncritically accepted this collection as authentic and incorporated it into the sacred book. Now, even if this seer Balaam had uttered any oracles about Israel, Moab, Edom, the Sea peoples, or the Kenites and Amalekites in the presence of Balak, the King of Moab, during the Mosaic age, there is little cause to believe that these utterings had come to Israel. The Israelites could only have heard it during their involvement with the daughters of Moab.

It is highly improbable that King Balak made known these oracles so favorable to his foes, so unfavorable to himself, his people, and

his gods. Therefore, if Albright's reading is correct, we can only assume that the collector erred in believing that the old oracles or songs which he collected had anything to do with the Syrian seer Balaam, who was believed by the Israelites to have blessed them instead of cursing them, as the king desired.

It is hard to believe that any singer or poet of the Mosaic age or of another age should have composed an oracle or song of the kind Professor Albright suggests. If the author really had been concerned with the invasion of the Sea peoples, he would not have said: "And while I gaze, they pass over. So he also shall perish for ever." This is the weakest part of the emendation. If they pass over, why *he*, not *they* shall perish? Furthermore, does "they pass over" mean that they went away or went into the land? If the first, there was no reason for concern. If the second, the author would not have described the invasion in this way; *'avar* does not mean "invade." The author would have said that the invaders had burned cities and villages and killed people (see Nu 21:28-30).

Numbers 24:7 and 17 really refer to the time of the early monarchy and were not originally intended to refer to the Mosaic period. Agag may not be original. It was presumably a later misreading of Adad or Hadad, the name of the Syrian supreme god, or the name of the Edomite king of the Davidic and Solomonic times (Gen 36:35,39; read Hadad as in v. 36 and in 1 Chr 1:50; see 1 Ki 11:14 ff.). However, the brilliant star or comet that would smash the corners of Moab and the temples of the Philistines (read *qadqod b'ne p'lesheth*) could only have been David. Albright's explanation of the Masoretic *kol bne sheth* as referring to an obscure nomadic tribe, the Shutu, mentioned in Egyptian sources, is not plausible, because it does not explain the *kol* (all). It is much more plausible to believe that a scribe misread k for p. Finding *b'ne k'lesheth* meaningless, he turned it into *kol bne sheth* (all sons of Sheth), thinking of Sheth in Gen 4:26;5:6, the father of mankind, according to Pn.

In the Mosaic age the Hebrews did not fight the Edomites or Moabites (Nu 20:14-21;21:4b; Dt 2). It is not reasonable to assume that a Syrian seer of the Mosaic age forecast and hailed the victories of David. It is much more reasonable to assume that a writer of the time of David put this forecast into the mouth of the old seer whom he considered a fearless and loyal worshiper of Yahweh, the God of truth (Nu 23:19). The poet ascribes his oracles about

Amalek and the Kenites to the same seer. Amalek was hostile and aggressive, and would perish. The Kenites, who were friendly, would survive. The writer of the Davidic age is thinking about the time of Saul, who saved the Kenites and exterminated the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:5-7). All these assumptions are far from being "violent."

Now we come to the oracle about the ships. The early critics ascribed this forecast (Nu 24:23,24) either to the time of Alexander the Great, or, like von Gall, to the days of Pompey, after 63 B.C.E. Since Rome had not yet been destroyed, and even von Gall could not date the latest redaction of the Pentateuch from the fourth century of the C.E., he assumed that the writer hoped that Rome would perish.

That was an absurd aberration of Biblical criticism. Understandably, Albright was happy to find an Egyptian citation that ships came from the North to invade the Palestinian coastland as early as the Mosaic age. But we must be careful lest we fall from one extreme into another. This last oracle has the character of an appendix. It quotes and refers to verse 20b. Its point is that even after the fall of Amalek, the first foe of Israel, another foe would appear who would suffer the same fate. "And even he will perish." This oracle cannot have been the oldest, but must have been the latest one. It cannot refer to some invading pirates during the Mosaic period who left no trace in the history of Israel; it must refer to Israel's greatest foe after Amalek—Ashur or Babel. Now Ashur is mentioned in verses 22,24. The word Ashur in verse 22 makes no sense in the Kenite oracle. Albright emends *'ashur* (I gaze), and translates: "Thy abode, o smith, is perennial; and thy nest is set in the cliffs. And yet they shall become fuel, the while I gaze, thy sojourners." The present author must frankly admit that he cannot understand this obscure oracle in this emendation and does not believe that it is the solution. In B.o.B., p. 83 he emended *'esh ya'ar* (forest fire) for Ashur and translated the second part: "If it were inflammable (your nest), in no time at all a forest fire would lay you waste" (read *task'echa* for *tishbecha*). That, at least, makes sense. The writer is trying to say that the Kenites lived in indestructible rocks, not in straw-made nests.

The misreading "Ashur" must be old. The last oracle presupposes it, adding that even Ashur shall be afflicted like Eber (Israel, He-

brews) by some other people, which too will be destroyed. This people can only refer to Babel, and the destroyer to Cyrus, the Persian conquerer. That makes sense. But what about the ships? The answer is that *v'tzim* is a misreading of either *yotz'im* or *yez'e 'am* ("they will come out" or "a people will come out"). Some letters may have been blurred. We may suppose that a scribe wrote *kdm* for *ksdm* (*kasdim* = Chaldeans). The next scribe corrected it to *ktm* (*kittim* = Crete). He saw: *vtzym myd kdm*, misspelled for *yvtzym myd ksdm*. Naturally and logically he read: *vtzym myd ktm*, as it is now in the unvocalized Hebrew text. The scribe who corrected this may have lived during the time of Alexander the Great or afterward. He thought of Alexander as the destroyer of Ashur (Persia). The text had "ships of Kittim" apparently as early as the Maccabean period, as Daniel 11:30 proves.

If this is correct, this last oracle, appended to the older Balaam oracles, was the latest portion of the whole Pentateuch and not the oldest, as Albright assumes. There is no cogent reason to assume that any portion of the Pentateuch was written after the Josian period. Only Leviticus 26:40-45 (exiled Israel would repent), Deuteronomy 4:25-31 (Israel would be dispersed among all the nations), and Deuteronomy 30:1-10 (repentant Israel would return from exile), may have been added in the time of Zerubbabel.

Our elaboration of the Balaam oracles has made it clear that all the Balaam oracles (apart from the gory lines in Numbers 23:24; 24:8,9, and the appended oracle in Numbers 24:23,24) were the work of a Davidic author. Since the oracles cannot be separated from the prose text, both belong to the same author, the master narrator (apart from the Elohist annotations, and the angel episode, inserted by Jp). The same is true for the Farewell Address of Jacob in Genesis 49. It is organically connected with the prose narratives attributable to N. In Genesis 48 the portions which call the patriarch by the name of Israel and not Jacob, as in Pn and E, belong to N. These are verses 1,2ab,b,9aa,b,10-15aa,17-19,21a ("And Israel said to Joseph: 'I am going to die'"). This was followed by: "And he called his sons and said" (from Gen 49:1). This introduces the poem in Genesis 49:2-27 (v. 11,12,18 are later additions). Then there followed verse 33ab: "and he drew up his feet into the bed," 50:1: "And Joseph fell on his father's face, and wept over him and kissed him."

It is noteworthy that the patriarch is called "Israel" in the poem (v. 2) as in the prose text of N. A post-Solomonic writer would have written: "Assemble and hear, O sons of Israel, and hearken to Jacob, your father." The use of "Jacob" as an alternative name for the people of Israel finds a parallel in the Balaam oracles (Nu 23:7,10,21,23;24:5,17). The older poems like Judges 5 and 2 Samuel 1:17ff., call the people Israel, not Jacob. Perhaps N made Jacob, who was only the father of some of the tribes, the father of all tribes of Israel and identified him with Israel, the supposed ancestor of the whole people (Gen 32:29). Consequently, he called the patriarch Israel and the people Jacob as well. The houses of Levi, Judah, and Joseph may have been independent of the house of Jacob before N's time.

Professor G. E. Wright has this to say about the date of the Yahwist: "A date ca. 850 B.C. is commonly given for this collection of early Israelite traditions. The arguments in favor of the ninth century, when examined in detail, do not appear particularly strong today. On the other hand, those in favor of a Davidic or Solomonic date are becoming more and more convincing. As a result, an increasing number of scholars are committing themselves to the tenth century as furnishing the most probable historical background for this written edition of early traditions." (From the 1950 S. B. L. E. Annual Program.) This confirms the author's date. If J belongs to the tenth century, there is no longer a valid reason for objecting to the author's other dates, those of E and Pn, as stemming from the ninth century.

COLLECTOR OR CREATOR

Some biblical scholars who are assiduous compilers themselves conceive of the Yahwist in their own image. They view the Yahwist collection of early traditions, in Wright's and Simpson's formulation, not as the work of one individual but as the collective labor of anonymous scribes. "Israelite historians like their psalmists were anonymous because they were not writing (like the Greeks) for their glorification, but solely for God's. This was not accidental, but established policy, based on theology" (Professor Wright in a letter to the author). The author cannot agree with him on this point. The Bible ascribes a blessing, two songs, an itinerary, many

addresses, nearly all the laws, and even a psalm to Moses. Other writings are assigned to Joshua and Samuel. Most of the prophetic writings and of the psalms are not anonymous. Most of the Proverbs are ascribed to Solomon; likewise the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. The Chronicler even mentions a number of books written by certain prophets who are named. Being human, not all Hebrew authors were humble and self-denying. Many of them enlarged and annotated older books; others gave their own works the stamp of greater authority by ascribing them to venerable personalities, like Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiah, etc. The names of Jp, E, Pn, the Hezekian and Josian editors are unknown, because they only annotated the master work of N. N himself wrote his book not to immortalize his name but to have it serve as a textbook for his pupils. The revising priests (Jp) used the work as a textbook for priests, and in revising it, made the book their own. In turn, it too became sacred and was commented upon by E and Pn; no one was interested in fixing the name of the first author to the book. Thus his name was lost.

N was not a school of anonymous scribes, but a great artistic and spiritual genius like Homer, Mohammed, Dante, Shakespeare, or Goethe. He was no compiling scholar, no mere collector of traditions, but a creative narrator, an observer and interpreter of life in its totality, who used traditions, as well as his personal experiences, reflections, and insights, to create vivid and immortal pieces of art. It is remarkable how many figures and events N brought to life and how many human problems he had in mind. One need but compare the books of Joshua, Judges, Kings, and Chronicles to perceive the difference between a compiler of traditions and a creative story-teller. Each of N's forty-five stories dramatizes profound human observations and interpretations presenting psychological truth in artistic form. Some of the problems and ideas which have been dramatized in N's picturesque stories are briefly enumerated in the following list:

<i>No. Genesis</i>	<i>Problem</i>
1. 2,3	The hard way is preferable to the easy one.
2. 4:1-16	Envy breeds crime. Even a murderer needs protection.
3. 4:23ff.;6-8	Violence breeds catastrophes. The world is an ordered one.

4. 9:20ff. Drunkenness degrades man. Even erring parents must be honored. Improving a situation is better than ridiculing it. Peaceful cooperation of Western and Eastern races.
5. 11:1-8 Decentralization of population better than congestion.
6. 12:10-20 It is pardonable to lie in order to survive; beware of xenophobia.
7. 13 Peace is more important than keeping one's territory.
8. 14 Defensive war must not be accompanied with wartime profiteering. Priests of different religions can worship the Creator in a spirit of tolerance.
9. 16 Two wives who are rivals destroy domestic peace.
10. 18,19 Strangers need special care. No accusation without fair trial. Justice must discriminate between the guilty and the innocent even in times of catastrophe and must make every effort to save the innocent.
11. 19:30ff. It is pardonable to commit incest for the survival of the species. Alcohol numbs the conscience.
12. 21:22ff. War is avoidable through free discussion followed by a negotiated treaty.
13. 24 Even a servant should be treated with dignity and be given responsibility. Courage and faith lead to success.
14. 25:20ff. Disharmony among parents makes for disharmony among children.
15. 27 Can an unspiritual person be charged with transmitting spiritual values?
16. 29 Love sweetens all hardships.
17. 30 Rivalry among wives for sexual favors taxes the strongest.
18. 30:25-31 How to resist exploitation by shrewdness without resorting to violence.
19. 32,33 Generosity begets magnanimity. Resist aggression fearlessly.
20. 34 The right and the wrong kind of international relations.
21. 37 Favoritism makes for conflict and crime.
22. 38 Frustrated motherhood drives a woman to act im-

modestly. The honesty of a plaintiff can save innocent defendants.

- 23. 39 Seducers blame the seduced.
- 24. 40 Benefactors are easily forgotten.
- 25. 41 Even a slave can rise by intelligence.
- 26. 42-44 Power arouses man's sadistic instincts.
- 27. 44:18ff. Convincing arguments are irresistible.
- 28. 47 Power may be socialized and humanized.
- 29. 48 Seniority does not imply superiority.
- 30. 50 Small-minded people believe every one else to be small-minded.

Exodus

- 31. 1:15ff. Even the most humble of persons can defy a brutal despot.
- 32. 2:16ff. Kindness is rewarded.
- 33. 3,4:10-12 Only a courageous leader can liberate an oppressed people.
- 34. 5-12 Stubborn despots do not give in until they are made to suffer personally.
- 35. 14-17 There is hope for escape even from the greatest danger.
- 36. 18 Great leaders learn from wise men, whatever their origin.
- 37. 19,20 There is only one God and He is concerned about good human relations.
- 38. 32-34 Maturing proceeds slowly. A responsible leader blames himself, not others, for failures. To err is human, to forgive divine.

Numbers

- 39. 10:29ff. Generosity to strangers makes good friends.
- 40. 11 Most people prefer fleshpots to freedom.
- 41. 12 Even the greatest man are not immune from slander.
- 42. 13,14:40ff. Aggression does not pay.
- 43. 16 The most selfless leader is envied and hated by some would-be leader.
- 44. 20:14-21 There is always a peaceful way as long as the foe does not provoke aggression.
- 45. 22-24 An incorruptible seer can thwart the intrigues of a spiteful king.

This list proves that the author of the N document was not con-

cerned with satisfying human curiosity about the past or defending any vested interests. He was remarkably free from the temptation to appease man's lower instincts by personal, tribal, national or racial glorification, by descriptions of gory battles or accounts of violence, by sexual excitation, by description of luxury and voluptuousness, by unveiling mysteries or reporting sensational miracles. Nor was he interested in merely preserving and transmitting venerable traditions. N's purpose was to understand life as it is, and to improve human relations. For this purpose he made use of all the material available to him—traditions, legends, stories, as well as his own experiences, reflections and insights. N had a keen eye for all human weaknesses. He was aware of the havoc played by man's greed, lust, envy, violence, hate, desire for power, brutality, stubbornness, dishonesty, intemperance, favoritism, lack of initiative, and cowardice. But he was too humane to ridicule man, as Molière, Voltaire, Swift, and Shaw did. He tried to understand human weakness and was convinced that mankind had not yet reached the final stage of its development. He realized that man is led astray in his youth by his imagination and desires (Gen 6:5;8:21). In their youth, Cain and Moses killed, Jacob and Laban cheated, Joseph was arrogant and his bretheren mistreated him. However, they all became more mellow when they matured. So there is hope for mankind as a whole to become nobler and more mature. Consequently, N frequently portrays noble-minded figures, and illuminates the better features as well as the ignoble ones in all men.

N's chief concern was with peace and goodwill. He considered Abraham a hero of peace who demonstrated how to bring peace to family life, to warring tribes, to all nations, races, and creeds. No absolute pacifist. N advocated resistance to evil and aggression. Even the Creator sometimes sends catastrophes to purge mankind of intolerable brutality (the Flood, Sodom). Although N hated all manner of bloodshed, he did not condemn Israel for taking up the sword to resist the aggressive warmongers Amalek and Sihon.

It is improbable that N adopted the portrait of a peaceful Abraham or a humane Moses from tradition. The Moses of tradition was exceedingly harsh (Nu 25:4 Jp; Ex 32:26-29 Pn; Nu 20:10 Pn). The Abraham of tradition may have been a warlike tribal chief (Gen 14, see B.o.B., pp. 106-108). Even when he takes certain details from tradition, a great artist shapes the characters according

to his own vision and design. Shakespeare molded the characters of Hamlet and Macbeth just as Goethe molded Faust and Iphigenia. To a creative artist, all traditional material is like marble in the hands of a sculptor or colors employed by a painter. He is free to use the material at his discretion. The spirit is the master, the matter its servant.

We need not go so far as to say with Pfeiffer (*JBL* March 1951, p. 7) that the "tales about Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph were fiction pure and simple." Yet it is hard to agree with Albright (*The Jews*, 1949, I. 6) that "there is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the biographical details and the sketches of personality which make the Patriarchs come alive with a vividness unknown to a single extrabiblical character in the whole vast literature of the ancient Near East." The general lines of the tradition (Abraham coming from the north, Jacob from the east, Israel in Egypt being delivered by Moses, etc.) are apparently substantially correct. This is all that has been proved and can be proved by archeology.¹ But all the particulars and the characterization of these figures were the work of a great creative mastermind for whom there is no parallel in the history of the Near East, so far as we know.

THE MASTER NARRATOR AND THE PRIESTS

The master narrator (N) mentions priests (*kohanim*) only four times. The priest of Salem and the priest of Midian are generous and tolerant persons. The former blessed Abraham in the name of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, his and Abraham's supreme God. He invited Abraham to share his bread and wine (Gen 14:18-20). The priest of Midian also invited Moses to a meal and gave him his daughter for wife (Ex 2:20,21). When the priest of Midian heard of the successful Exodus, he praised Yahweh as the greatest of all gods. The priest taught Moses how to administer justice efficiently by sharing his tasks with other judges (v. 18). It is noteworthy that these two priests, non-Hebrews, both are portrayed as generous and tolerant individuals who have an enlightened religion and a

1. See concerning this subject the author's analyses:

1) *The Reconstructionist* (Apr. 3, 1953) "Has Archaeology clarified Israel's past?" 2) *Commentary* (May 1954) "Archaeology and the Bible's Historical Truth."

bloodless form of worship, in which animal sacrifice is not mentioned, in contrast to E (Ex 18:12).

In the account of Joseph's nationalization of the land of Egypt, N mentions that the Egyptian priests were exempt from this law. They maintained their own land and did not have to pay the twenty per cent tax, like the rest of the population. Obviously, N is telling this story in order to warn Israel not to institute a privileged ruling priest caste such as existed in Egypt. This is in keeping with the proclamation of Moses, as related by N, that Israel was to become a nation of priests (Ex 19:6). This could only mean that every Israelite was to be a priest, and there was no need for any mediating caste (so Nu 16:3).

Aaron, who played so large a role in the priestly annotations made by Jp, Pn, and PC, is mentioned only twice in the N document (Nu 12-10 and Ex 32). (See p. 192.) In Moses' absence the people demand that Aaron make a visible God or gods. Aaron collects their rings and makes an idol. The term "calf" in the Masoretic text is probably, as said on p. 88, a correction by the Hezekian editor who wished to warn Judah against the northern calf-worship which brought about the fall of the northern kingdom. When Moses returns and blames Aaron for the orgiastic excesses and moral disorder, Aaron blames in turn the people. Aaron figures here as the priest of the pre-Mosaic worship among the Hebrews. He was actually the rival and not the brother of Moses, as the priestly annotators would make us believe (Ex 4:14 Jp; 6:2-7:7 Pn). N obviously identifies himself with Moses and condemns this old priesthood and its demoralizing orgiastic cult "as a great trespass" (Ex 32:21).

Apparently N regarded Moses as the founder of a bloodless spiritual cult of the one universal God of humaneness and righteousness, and Israel as a whole as Moses' priests or first converts. N considered the bloody, sensual, and orgiastic cult of the pre-Mosaic age as a stage of primitive paganism through which Abraham and the priest of Salem had already passed. This higher concept of religion, N assumed, was later renewed by Moses and the priest of Midian.

As a founder (or re-institutor) of a bloodless and spiritual worship of the one God of the world, Moses was supposed to have given Israel the non-ritual Ethical Decalogue (Ex 20:2-14) in its original, succinct, unexpanded form. See the analysis on pp. 108-110.

An analysis of the highly composite chapter, Exodus 19, the record of the Sinaitic legislation, follows:

The oldest record (N document) had: "And Israel encamped before the mountain (v. 2b)—characteristically "Israel," not the post-Solomonic "the children of Israel." The mountain is not named. A naturalistic description of a volcanic eruption followed: "And the mountain was wrapped in smoke (v. 18aa), and the smoke of it went up like the smoke of a kiln, and the whole mountain quaked greatly" (v. 18b). Then: "And Yahweh called Moses to the mountain, and Moses went up" (v. 20b). "And Yahweh called him out of the mountain, saying, 'Thus you shall say to Jacob and tell Israel. You have seen what I did to the Egyptians and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. Now, if you obey my voice, you shall be my precious possession among all peoples, for the whole earth is mine. And you shall be to me a nation of priests'" (v. 3b,4-6a). The text was originally in a poetic form. Later it was turned into prose and a few more words inserted, such as: "house of [Jacob]" and "children of [Israel]" (v. 3), "and keep my covenant" (v. 5), and "holy people" (v. 6). A more detailed analysis is found in B.o.B., pp. 60-65.

This poetic prologue was followed immediately by the decalogue. The whole section concluded with this poetic epilogue: "If you hearken to my voice and do all I say, I will be a foe to your foes, an enemy to your enemies (Ex 23:22). I will bless your bread and your water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of you. None shall cast her young or be barren in your land. I will fulfill the number of your days" (v. 25b,26).

Why was the text rearranged?

The N document was not supernaturalistic enough to suit the revising priests (Jp). Therefore they added: "And Yahweh came down on mount Sinai, to the top of the mountain" (Ex 19:20a), to which verse 18 refers as well. In verse 20, they inserted "on top of." They also added a warning to the people not to gaze at the mountain; the priests had to consecrate themselves to prevent the outburst of Yahweh's wrath (v. 21,22). Moses went down to the people and spoke to them (v. 25).

The priestly narrator (Pn) was not completely satisfied. He missed the ritual preparation of three days' cleansing and the blocking

of the access to the mount, under threat of harsh legal punishment. He added verses 10-15, 16aa,ab,b. To adjust his own strict measures to those of Jp, he interpolated verses 23,24. These interpolations compelled Pn to separate the prologue from the decalogue and to add verses 6b,7,8. *B'ne yisrael* (v. 6b) indicates a second hand: to note the people's consent to the law characterizes the legalistic Pn (as in Ex 24:3). Hence it was Pn who introduced the decalogue with, "And Elohim spoke all these words, saying," using "Elohim," as in Exodus 6:2, because the next verse introduces God as saying, "I am Yahweh." The term "spoke," and not "said," betrays Pn. E would have said, "Elohim said." (See Ex 3:11-15 and other E passages.)

N, Jp, and Pn believed that God spoke the Ten Commandments to Moses, who was to tell them to Israel. The northern prophetic Elohist (E), however, assumed that God spoke to the whole people. Therefore he interpolated into the J document (= N + Jp): "Then Moses brought the people out of the camp to meet Elohim; and they took their stand at the foot of the mountain (v. 17). And as the sound of the ram's horn grew louder and louder, Moses spoke and Elohim answered him in thunder." Exodus 20:15-18 (Kittel: 18-21) were also added by E, as the three repetitions of "Elohim" indicate. The people were frightened and wanted Moses to speak rather than God. In Exodus 19:16 and 20:15 (Kittel 18), "voice of ram's horn" was probably added by the Hezekian editor, who also interpolated Exodus 19:9 (the people shall believe in Moses when they hear God speak to him).

This analysis corroborates the distinctive features of the four great masters who contributed to this composite record of the Sinaitic legislation. N's ideal was for the whole people to be priests, so that a special priestly caste would no longer be necessary. The revelation as such was given to Moses and had no miraculous character. E dreamed of the whole people becoming prophets (Nu 11:29)—hence he has them hear the words of God. Jp's God is a stern and often wrathful majesty, whereas N's God is "patient and steady" (Ex 34:6), Pn, the priestly narrator, thought that God preferred strict formality and exact regulations, just as he himself did.

PC contributed nothing relevant, because Hilkiah regarded the whole legislation from Exodus 20-Leviticus 27 as revealed to Moses on mount Sinai. He only interpolated "the Torah and the command-

ments" in Exodus 24:12, and "the glory of God appeared" in Exodus 24:15b-18a.

N's attitude towards the tribe of Levi is very instructive in this respect. In Genesis 34 and in the poem of Genesis 49, the author condemns most vehemently the ferocious aggressiveness and fanaticism of Simeon and Levi, both warlike tribes. "I shall scatter them in Israel," said Jacob, condemning Simeon and Levi's atrocities against man and beast. Now we know from Judges 17 that as early as the second generation after Moses, in the mid-twelfth century, the tribe of Levi was scattered and its members much sought after as priests. N himself relates that Moses' father was a Levite (Ex 2:1a). Eli, the priest of Shiloh, and Abiathar, the senior priest of David, were Levites. Even if not all priests were Levites in David's time, since the king and his sons were priests also, and not all the Levites were priests, the Jerusalemite priests of the Davidic age resented a condemnation of the tribe of Levi as an affront against the priesthood. Hence the revising priests (Jp) added the episodes of Exodus 4:13-17, 27-28. God was angry at Moses' refusal to go to Pharaoh. So Moses was made God's mouthpiece and Aaron the priest and mediator to the people. They also inserted the name of Aaron in Exodus 4:29; 5:1 and in some other records of the plagues (Ex 8:4, 21; 9:27; 10:8, 16; 12:31). Pn gives Aaron a rank equal to Moses (Ex 6:13, 26; 7:1, 2, 6, 7, 8; 8:1, 12; 9:8; 12:1). He alters the character of the Dinah story (Gen 34) by inserting verses 2b, 5, 7, 8a, 13 (from "with guile" to 14 "to them"), 27-29, 31. Pn has the Shechemite prince defile the daughter of Jacob, and all the sons of Jacob vindicate her honor under the leadership of Levi and Simeon by an efficient punitive campaign against immoral foreigners (*see* p. 135).

The Blessing of Moses (Dt 33) was the priestly answer to the early-prophetic Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49). In contrast to the latter's condemnation of Levi, the priestly compiler tells us that before his death Moses himself had recognized the tribe of Levi as the spiritual, cultic, and judicial authority in Israel. This compilation and conflation of prosaic and poetic sayings of different origin must have been written by a powerful priest at a time when the official cult of Judah was distinct from that of the other tribes, and the tribe of Joseph possessed a rich and respected country. This situation was most true during the reign of Queen Athalia before the priest-regent Jehoiada restored Yahwism in Judah. That would

identify the compiler of Deuteronomy 33 with Pn, the priestly narrator of the pro-Levite version of the Dinah story.

Deuteronomy 33 cannot stem from the time of the Judges, as has been suggested by some scholars, and the prayer for Judah cannot refer to a time when Judah was separated from the northern tribes by the Philistine invasions. Deuteronomy 33 must have been composed after Gen 49, which presupposes a united kingdom under a Davidic ruler; for the Joseph blessing of Deuteronomy 33 is patched up with quotations from Genesis 49. Reuben is already weak and Gad has taken some of his territory (v. 20a). Simeon is no longer a separate tribe, but part of Judah. Under the Judges, Levi did not play so large a role, as indicated in verses 8-11. Yahweh dwells in Benjamin, that is Jerusalem. All these details bespeak a post-Davidic age.

Nor can Deuteronomy 33 have been written by a northern author. In the Northern Kingdom, Levi did not have the priestly monopoly (1 Ki 12:31). The blessings of Benjamin and Levi point to a Jerusalemite priest. A northern writer would not have placed Judah, Levi, and Benjamin before Joseph. The author must have lived before the Hezekian reform of cult-concentration, because he still recognizes many legitimate sanctuaries (v. 19). His political ideal is a federation of all tribes (v. 5), based on common laws and common cultic institutions (v. 10,21), as in the Mosaic period under the leadership of the tribe of Levi. This author was a militant nationalist who represents Yahweh as defending his land and his people, smashing all his foes from within and without. This is in keeping with the views of the priest-regent Jehoiada (see pp. 19, 135, 197).

B'ne yisrael in verse 1 indicates that the blessing was inserted in post-Solomonic times (see p. 177). The term "the man of God" was very popular in the ninth-century biblical Hebrew, not only in the North (in the Elijah and Elisha stories) but also in the South as well (it occurs fifteen times in 1 Ki 12:22;13). Since the blessing is placed between Deuteronomy 32:48-52 and 34:1-9, both by Pn, Pn must have inserted it there. Pn was no poet, but a pedantic scholar. He needed a rejoinder to Genesis 49. So he compiled and conflated this half-prosaic, half-poetic blessing from different sources, sayings, and hymns. It is a spiritually poor piece of patchwork, whose praise of the material aspects of life and reckless fanaticism (v. 9) is characteristic of Pn (see pp. 117, 135). Pn, who was an

intelligent and power-loving priest, was aware more than any other priest that the old sacred N document was an anti-Levitical book. True, the priests of the united kingdom had revised it, but they had not been severe enough to suit Pn. So he wrote his annotations, adding in Exodus 32 the episode in which Moses, praising the Levites for their reckless fanaticism in destroying all foes of Yahweh, makes them priests in his holy crusade (v. 26-29). Pn has Moses triumphantly declare that the Levites had killed three thousand men, not even sparing their own flesh and blood (v. 29). For this bloody deed they receive Yahweh's blessing (v. 29b).

The term blessing (*b'rachah*) means different things to different people. To the militant priest-regent it meant the bloody sacrifice of three thousand Israelites disloyal to Yahweh. Presumably Jehoiada had Queen Athaliah and her Tyrian cult in mind—the queen, her priest Matan, and her followers had been massacred by Jehoiada (2 Ki 11:15-20).

The same term "blessing" is used in an entirely different meaning by N (Gen 9:26; 12:2; 14:19; 27:27), who represents Abraham as a peace hero, who settled all conflicts with all his opponents or foes bloodlessly. N regards the true worship of Yahweh not as the bloody sacrifice of man or beast to appease a blood-thirsty heavenly monarch; but as obedience to God's "command to his sons and his household after him to do righteousness and justice" (Gen 18:19).

N mentions animal sacrifices only twice: once in connection with the festival in the wilderness, and again in the story of Balaam and Barak. Moses starts his diplomatic negotiations with the king of Egypt by asking him to permit Israel to go a journey of three days into the wilderness in order to sacrifice to their God (Ex 3:18). This request is repeated before each new calamity in the formula: "Let my people go that they may serve me." When Pharaoh finally gives in, after the locust plague, he says: "Go, serve Yahweh; only let your flocks and your herds remain behind, your children also may go with you" (Ex 10:24). Moses answers: "Our cattle also shall go with us; not a hoof shall be left behind (v. 26aa); we do not know with what we must serve Yahweh until we arrive there" (v. 26b). The narrator deliberately leaves it unclear whether the Israelites will serve Yahweh with animal sacrifices or in some other way. The term *zavach* ("sacrifice"), used several times before, must be understood as either identical with worship or as a priestly cor-

rection of the original "serve," the usual term. This phrase "we do not know" displeased the revising priests (Jp), who interpolated verse 26ab: "for we must take of them to serve Yahweh our God." And to make the point quite clear, they also added in verse 25a: "You must also give into our hand sacrifices and burnt offerings that we may dress them for Yahweh." This passage is out of place. It should follow verse 26, not precede it. The two interpolations make for an uneven and awkward reading. Pharaoh cannot give Moses burnt offerings or other offerings. He can only give him the beasts to offer. All this is clear evidence of the priestly manipulation of the text. In any case this passage does not prove that N favored animal sacrifices. On the contrary, it proves that he had his hesitations on the subject. Moses mentions animal sacrifices to Pharaoh only as one of several alternatives.

In the Balaam stories the narrator stresses that, at the request of Balaam, Balak built three times seven altars on various high places, offering one bullock and one ram on each altar, in order to secure the favor of his god. This waste of slaughtered animals was in vain. The narrator obviously intended to ridicule this ineffacious and bloody institution, which was also practiced by the priests of his own time and nation (2 Sam 6:13; 1 Ki 1:19,25). The narrator who often surprises us with comic situations (Gen 18:12;30:33;31:27, 34;38:20;39:13,17;40:19;41:20,24a;44:12,15) can also be satiric as in Numbers 11:18-20, where he scoffs at the desire of the people to sell their freedom for fleshpots. His deep humaneness evidently led him to view with disfavor the slaughter of animals not only for cultic but also for dietary purposes (*see* pp. 201, 238). After the Flood Yahweh proclaimed that he would never again smite any living being (Gen 8:21).

Pn protested against this ideal of a bloodless cult and diet by explicitly allowing the eating of meat though not the eating of the blood of animals (Gen 9:3,4). As early as the story of creation, Pn protests against N's humane attitude to animals. N relates how Yahweh created the animals after man to serve as man's companions, whereas Pn makes man master over the animal world (Gen 1:28) created before him. Pn also justifies the people's desire for meat in the wilderness, relating how God heard their complaints and promised to supply them with bread every morning and meat every evening (Ex 16:1-5,8,13a).

Since the northern list of clean and unclean animals (Dt 14) is nearly identical with the southern list (Lev 11), it may go back substantially to the pre-partition period. Even Jp distinguishes clean and unclean animals (Gen 8:20). This passage cannot stem from N. The God who promises to save all living creatures (v. 21) cannot at the same time enjoy slaughtered cattle and birds. If Yahweh's promise in verse 21 had been His reply to Noah's sacrifice, He would have addressed Noah (see Gen 9:1ff.) and not Himself. This argument proves that the sacrifice of Noah was not mentioned by N; but being part of the popular tradition, as we know from the Babylonian version of the Flood story, it was restored by the priests (Jp).

N's deep sympathy with all suffering creatures is recorded time and again (Gen 2:20;7:2,3—originally seven pairs of all animals—8:9;24:14-46;29:10;43:24;49:6; Ex 2:17,19;17:3). The humanitarian precepts which are recorded in the Covenant Code and in the northern Elishan Deuteronomy (ED)—Dt 22:1-4 = Ex 23:4,5; Dt 5:14 = Ex 23:12b—may also go back to the pre-partition age. They may have been annotations written by the humane N on the margin of the old Covenant Code. For a detailed analysis, see pp. 210, 212.

To understand how an enlightened genius could have emancipated himself, as early as the tenth century, from the general belief of his age in the necessity of animal sacrifice, let us examine the reasons which justified the maintenance of these bloody rites. Although the terms "My food" and "My pleasing odor" are still used in PC (Nu 28:2), that is, in the time of Jeremiah, the priests of Shiloh no longer took these terms literally, as the accounts describing the sons of Eli (1 Sam 2:12-16), and David's eating of the holy showbread (21:3-7) imply. In the age of Samuel and David, offerings to Yahweh were interpreted as gifts of thanks (Gen 4:3,4 Jp; Ex 23:15b Cov. Code) or of appeasement (1 Sam 26:19; Ex 5:3b Jp). These gifts were given to God, the ruler of the tribe or the nation as burnt offerings (Gen 15:17;22:8; Ex 10:25; Nu 28; Ju 6:21; 11:31; 13:16).

In ancient nomadic times, when the Hebrews lived in tents and had no rulers or priests, they slaughtered animals and ate them in communion with their god who was present in their midst (Ex 24:11). They did so on solemn occasions, after a successful raid or escape or when making a peace treaty. These peace offerings ex-

pressed thanks and joy. "And you shall rejoice before Yahweh your God, you and your son and your daughter and your man-servant and your maid-servant" (Dt 16:11,14). Deuteronomy thought in terms of a modernized revival of the ancient nomadic ideals.

In the northern story of Genesis 22 we read of a third interpretation of the purpose of animal offerings, to serve as substitutes for human offerings. The Covenant Code still contained the ancient priestly concept: "The firstborn of your sons you shall give to Me" (Ex 22:28). The priests of Shiloh no longer took this precept literally, interpreting it to mean that the firstborn, if fit, should perform some priestly functions in the sanctuary or become a Nazarite fighter against the Philistine invader (1 Sam 1; Ju 13). The Davidic priests (Jp) made the redemption of the firstborn mandatory (Ex 34:20, repeated by Pn in 13:13). This must have been a widespread ancient practice which had become the general rule under David's reign.

This concept of animal sacrifice as symbolic substitute for human sacrifice prevails in PC. "If a man sins through error and neglects any of the commandments of Yahweh," he shall bring sin offerings (Lev 4 and 5). The various sin offerings and the atonement ritual with the scapegoat are all meant to cleanse the sinner of his sins for which he may deserve the death penalty (Lev 16:30). Paul's Christology is based on this priestly concept (Hebr 9:11-14).

The mere fact that there were many interpretations of an old custom proves that the priests of the Hebrews and other spiritual leaders had reflected deeply concerning these sacrificial rites. Some, like the sons of Eli, were skeptical and cynical, others found fault with the rites for theological or moral reasons.

There must have always been individuals who doubted all mystical or irrational religious belief. At Nippur, Iraq, a medical clay tablet in a Sumerian script, typical of the period around 2100 B.C.E., has been found describing the medicinal use of substances from plants, minerals, and animals. It is completely free of the mystical and irrational elements which dominated later Babylonian medicine. Not a single god or demon is mentioned anywhere in the text, as Dr. S. N. Kramer, the translator, notes (*The New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1953).

There were three different attitudes from which the sacrificial cult could be opposed. First, God, the creator and owner of the

whole world does not need these offerings. That is the view of Psalms 50:7-14; Isaiah 40:16; 66:1-3). Secondly, Yahweh, the God of justice and righteousness, is not interested in these offerings, preferring obedience to His moral laws. That is the view of the author of 1 Samuel 15:22,23 (see B.o.B., p. 182), of the great literary prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, from Amos to Jeremiah, of Second Isaiah (Is 43:23) and of some Psalmists (40:7; 51:18,19). Thirdly, Yahweh is a humane God and hates bloodshed in any form. That is the view of Micah 6:7a, Isaiah 66:3, and Jonah 4:11. This universal sympathy with all living creatures is characteristic of the Yahwist master narrator (N). "I shall never again smite any living being as I have done" (Gen 8:21). This attitude was not taken from the literary prophets whose reasons for considering the sacrificial cult (and even the non-sacrificial cult) as irrelevant were different. N affirmed a spiritual worship of God by prayers and hymns—Abraham and Moses call on the name of Yahweh; Isaac's prayer (Gen 25:21); Jacob's prayer (32:10-12, v. 10 is expanded); Moses' prayer (Nu 12:13); Miriam's song (Ex 15:20,21); Well Song (Nu 21:17ff.)—yet he rejected the bloody worship of Yahweh, the God of humaneness.

This universal sympathy with all living creatures, which logically leads to a bloodless diet obviating the killing of animals for food, has never become a popular belief among the Hebrews. Whereas N satirized the longing of the people in the wilderness to eat meat, all the other writers think this longing natural and unobjectionable (Gen 9:2,3; Ex 16:8; Nu 11:21 Pn; Dt 12:20 ED; 12:15 JD; Ex 16:12 PC). Vegetarianism became a sectarian tenet, but not a religious tenet, as it was among Hindus, Buddhists, Jainists, and Seventh Day Adventists.

WHO WAS THE MASTER NARRATOR (N)?

One thing is evident. N was no priest, neither Abiathar nor Zadok nor Ahimaaz nor any other priest. They might have revised his book, but they did not write it. Even the enlightened priest would not, neglecting all priestly concerns and institutions, have condemned the fanaticism of the Levites and portrayed Aaron as favoring idolatry and immorality, as N did.

N's book is written in a lucid, terse, and picturesque style. He is detached, balanced, and relevant. That bespeaks a man of intelli-

gence, mental stability, and wisdom. Such a personality could not have remained unknown to his contemporaries, to the king, to the priests, and to his people. If this assumption is correct, N must have been one of the leaders of his time. Apart from the king, Israel had only three kinds of leaders: high officials, priests, and prophets. Since N was no priest, he can have been only a high official, or a prophet, or perhaps occupied a position in which he was both a high official and a prophet. Since N was friendly to the Davidic dynasty whose permanence he announced (Gen 49:10), the anti-Solomonic prophet Ahijah the Shilonite is out of the question. There were two other prophets: Gad and Nathan. Gad warned David not to stay abroad but to return to Judah (1 Sam 22:5). This anti-foreign bias was entirely alien to N. When David organized a census, Gad told him that he had committed a deadly sin and interpreted a plague that visited the land leaving thousands dead as a punishment for this sin. Gad told the king that he must build an altar and bring offerings to appease the wrathful Yahweh (2 Sam 24). This is an attitude exactly contrary to N's.

What about the prophet Nathan? He too upbraided David for sinning. But the sin in question was a moral crime. The king had brought about the death of Uriah in order to marry his beautiful wife, Bathsheba. Nathan made it clear to the king by the use of a human, untheological story that he had committed a crime against Uriah. When David genuinely repented, Nathan told him that Yahweh would forgive him. Here there is no altar-building, no sin offering, no angel of a wrathful Yahweh, such as appear in the Gad story. Here speaks an enlightened teacher of justice and mercy.

Some people missed God's wrath in this simple and grandiose story; so they added all sorts of retaliations and sanctions as the second, third, and fourth oracles of Nathan (2 Sam 12:7b-14; only 13 belongs to the original text). Nathan's parable proves four things: 1) Nathan's God was a God of justice and mercy, not an appeasable God of wrath; 2) Nathan was a good story-teller and profound psychologist; 3) the story breathes Nathan's deep sympathy with all suffering creatures, with the poor and with animals; 4) his ideal was the eradication of sin and not of the sinner.

That is exactly the theology, psychology, and ethics of the Yahwist master narrator (N). N characterizes a good ruler as a man who has not stolen a donkey nor hurt any one of the people (Nu

16:15). A good leader is trusty and hates greed (Ex 18:21ab). He does not consider a king who counts the population or fails in some other ritual precept to be wicked. Nathan was shocked that the king of whom he expected so much had set might over right, stolen a wife away from her husband, and then caused the husband's death to legitimate his own subsequent marriage.

Nathan also opposed David's wish to build a permanent house to Yahweh (2 Sam 7:5). Although the text of Nathan's speech has been tampered with by revising interpolators, verses 5 and 11b make it clear that Nathan contrasted a permanent house built *for* Yahweh with a permanent house built *by* Yahweh. The original meaning of his speech can only have been that it is not man who builds a house for Yahweh, but Yahweh who builds a house for man. Verses 14, 15a, 16 imply that Yahweh will make the throne of David and of his offspring permanent if they are loyal to Him. This expectation of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty is in keeping with Genesis 49:10 (N).

After Solomon built the temple, the text of the Nathan prophecy was revised. Verses 6-11a, 13a interpret God's rejection as meaning that God did not want a permanent house, but a portable tent as long as the country was not completely secure; with the assurance of security under David's son, the temple could be built. In this way the existence of the temple was later brought into harmony with Nathan's rejection of it. 2 Samuel 7:3 (Nathan consented at first) may have been added for this purpose as well.

Nathan's opposition to the building of a temple for the universal God of mercy, truth, and justice was in keeping with N's religious ideas. Neither Abraham, nor Jacob, nor Moses built a temple to Yahweh. They called on His name when and where they thought it appropriate. The story of the temple-like tabernacle, unknown to Pn and the Hezekian editors, came into the text through PC. The Hezekian editors, however, quote Moses as saying that "when Yahweh gives you rest from all your enemies round about so that you live in safety," God will choose a place where you shall bring your offerings (Dt 12:11). That, of course, refers to the temple in Jerusalem.

Solomon's temple was originally built with the intention of making it a house of prayer for all nations. The original pre-Hezekian text of Solomon's prayer is still preserved in 1 Ki 8:12, 13, 27-41, 42b,

43a,bb; this text does not mention any offerings or altar, but only prayers. Verse 27 "But will God indeed dwell on earth? Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain Thee; how much less this house which I have built," is in harmony with Nathan's words to David that only God can build a house for man, but not man a house for God.

The description of the temple (1 Ki 6:2-10, 15-36; 7:13-46) does not mention an altar at all. Only the Hezekian expansions (1 Ki 7:47-51; 8:14-26, 44-64) refer to an altar and offerings. According to chapter 3:2-4, the people made offerings at high places, especially at the great high place at Gibeon. The two accounts of thousands of offerings by Solomon (1 Ki 3:4b; 8:63) may have been interpolated by the priests. In verse 64 we read that the bronze altar was so small that all the offerings could not be sacrificed on it. In 1 Kings 7:48, we learn of a golden altar, which may reflect a later institution. We do not know at what time and under what circumstances the Solomonic temple became a house of a sacrificial cult. Perhaps it was at first a private chapel of the king for a bloodless cult and only later became a national sanctuary.

It cannot be maintained that Solomon's prayer was written during the exile. Such a statement explains nothing. For in the post-Jeremian period priest and prophet in Israel had accepted the necessity and legitimacy of the sacrificial cult. The movement against it was pre-exilic. It did not begin with Amos, but must have had its roots in the late Davidic age. The prophet Nathan was the champion of a movement for spiritualizing and humanizing the religion of Yahweh. We know there were two parties in Jerusalem in David's old age. One party, under the leadership of the orthodox priest Abiathar and the militarist Joab, wanted to preserve the religious and social status quo. Supported by them, Adonijah, then the eldest son of David, proclaimed himself David's legitimate successor. The other group was led by the prophet-statesman Nathan, and included the priest Zadok and the police minister Benaiah. They were for peace, for a good neighbor policy, and for a spiritualized cult. They preferred the younger but wiser Solomon, Nathan's pupil, whom he had educated to be a humane and peaceful ruler. When Adonijah was proclaimed king, his partisans "slaughtered oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance" (1 Ki 1:19, 25). But when the followers of Solomon hailed him as their king, they

slaughtered no animals; instead they performed music, Zadok anointed Solomon, and everyone shouted "Long live King Solomon" (1 Ki 1:38-40). Music, anointment, and enthusiastic speeches characterize the style of the prophetic guild.

The soul of this reform movement was Nathan. He must have won King David and Queen Bathsheba to his ideas. With diplomatic skill, entirely avoiding bloodshed, he succeeded in winning the power for Solomon. In 2 Samuel 12:23,24, we read that "Yahweh loved Solomon," that "Nathan called him *Yedidyah*" (Yahweh is my Friend), and that "his mother called him *Shlomoh*" (an abbreviated form of *shlomiyah*—Yahweh is Peace). In these two names we can recognize the slogans of the new movement. Yahweh is not a despotic lord; He wants peace, not war. The first son of Bathsheba, who died early (2 Sam 12:15), was called Nathan (2 Sam 5:14), probably after the prophet.

The Chronicler (1 Chr 27:25-34) has preserved an old household list of David's officers, taken from "a book of the Chronicle of King David" (v. 24, read *sefer* with LXX for *mispar*). This list of twelve administrative officers is evidently genuine, because no priestly or Levitical interest is involved. There we read: "And Jonathan, David's *dod*, was a counsellor, a teacher, and a scribe; he and Jehiel, the son of Hachmoni, were in charge of the king's sons" (v. 32). *Dod* may mean a kinsman, an uncle, a friend. This Jonathan, David's counsellor and friend (or kinsman), can only refer to the prophet-statesman Nathan. David may have shortened the name to Nathan to distinguish his counsellor from the other Jonathans—the son of Saul and the son of Uzziah (1 Chr 27:25).

From this important passage we learn that Nathan was a scribe and the teacher of the king's sons. Solomon was well educated. He knew a good deal of Egyptian and Mesopotamian wisdom, was acquainted with countless stories, fables, and songs, and was familiar with the life of plants and animals (1 Ki 5:10-13).¹ Solomon was a peaceful ruler during the forty years of his reign (1 Ki 5:4-5). "And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon" (v. 5).

1. This record stems from the chronicles of Solomon (11:41). If published under Solomon, the exaggerations are flatteries; if published under Rehoboam, they reflect the contrast with the poor, war-torn, and reduced kingdom of Judah. Some phrases may be later expansions.

His era became the Golden Age for later times, beset by disunity and war (Mic 4:4).

This educational ideal and program is in keeping with the ideas of N. His narratives about Joseph and Moses indicate that N was familiar with Egyptian life and literature. For further details see B.o.B., pp. 138-139, 195. Genesis 4:17ff.; 10:8-14; 11:2ff. show that N was interested in the history of civilization and had some knowledge of Sumerian-Babylonian culture. N was a great lover of nature, not only of animals but of plants as well (see Gen 2:9; Ex 9:31, 32; 16:31; Nu 11:5; 24:6). He was also interested in music (see Gen 4:21; 31:27; Ex 15:20-21; Nu 21:17), and himself a great story-teller and poet. Genesis 49 indicates that N liked to use fables, to compare human qualities with those of specific animals. It is noteworthy that there is no word in this educational program that deals with those priestly concerns—ritual, calendar, astronomy or genealogy—which would have interested a priestly teacher or conservative tutor.

The other tutor was probably an officer in the army. Among the thirty war-heroes, mention is made of a high officer, a son of *Hachmoni* (so 1 Chr 11:11; in the parallel text of 2 Sam 23:8, *Tachmoni*), who may be identical with Jehiel or his brother. If we may be permitted a guess, Solomon was more receptive to Nathan's historical-literary teachings and Adonijah to the military-physical training of the son of Hachmoni. In any case, Nathan recognized the mental and moral capacities of Solomon, whom he loved; he must have early decided to make him David's successor and the practical executor of his reform ideas.

The fact that Nathan was able to make policy by educating the future king in his own social and religious ideals was epoch-making not only for Israel's future but for the whole turn of civilization. This is not an overstatement, but literally true. The need for the education of the upper class became strong in Nathan's age. Princes, officials, priests, big traders and landowners, all received some systematic education. They learned to read and to write, and needed textbooks. Nathan was a scribe. At first, he may have used texts composed by others. Later, he wrote his own textbooks. He was a literary genius and a fine narrator. Naturally he wrote down his stories. He wanted to make Solomon and his other pupils humane, peaceful, enlightened, and tolerant persons by giving them "wisdom

and understanding" and "largeness of mind" (1 Ki 5:9, Hebrew text).

Now, N's stories, from Adam to Moses, breathe this very spirit of generosity, tolerance, love of peace, and humaneness. Hence, the assumption can be made, with a high probability of correctness, that the basic stories either constituted the textbook itself or were elaborate editions of it made by the master to give them greater publicity.

Nathan must have had other pupils besides the sons of the king. Two sons of Nathan were numbered among the ministers of Solomon's government: Azariah, the head of the regional chiefs (*nitzavim*), and Zabud, "*kohen*, friend of the king" (1 Ki 4:5). These two highest officials in Solomon's cabinet were well educated persons. Obviously their father, who had the greatest interest in molding the leaders of Solomon's state, was their teacher. The term *kohen* is not quite clear. If beside the popular sacrificial cult a bloodless spiritual worship of Yahweh was practiced among the educated groups influenced by Nathan, after his death or in his old age, his son Zabud may have taken over his father's spiritual office—hence he may have been called a "chaplain, friend of the king." Perhaps he was called *kohen hamelech* (King's chaplain), the word "friend" being a gloss, to distinguish this office from that of the "priests of Yahweh," Zadok and Abiathar (1 Ki 4:4,5).

Zabad (= Zabud), the son of Nathan, is also mentioned in an old genealogy preserved in 1 Chr 2:34-41 which begins with Sheshan and ends with Elishama, twelve generations later. Elishama must have lived in the second half of the eighth century, that is, in the reign of Hezekiah when a census and genealogical registration took place, probably because of the influx of northern immigrants after the fall of Samaria (see 1 Chr 4:41). Elishama must have been well known in his time. Either he was a high official or a genealogist himself. Since Nathan and Zabad were well-educated and high officials, some of their descendants may have followed their learned example; thus this genealogy was preserved.

We know from the Arabs that genealogies often were invented to prove that people of humbler origin were descended from famous individuals. Every great ancestor of Arab tribes was turned by the genealogists into a brother or a cousin of some ancestor of Mo-

hammered (see Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopedia Biblica*, art. "Genealogies"). The genealogy of Nathan and Zabad, on the contrary, shows that some highly respected and well-known people trace their descent from very humble ancestors. "Sheshan had no sons but daughters, and Sheshan had an Egyptian slave, named Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife, and she bore him Attai. And Attai begot Nathan and Nathan, Zabad" (1 Chr 2:34-36). We may assume that some of the genealogies in the Chronicles were partly invented, but even Wellhausen agrees that this genealogy is an old and genuine one.

Who was this Sheshan? In 1 Chronicles 2:25-31 we read that Sheshan was a Jerachmeelite, descended from Onam, the son of Atarah, one of the wives of Jerachmeel. Now we know from 1 Samuel 27:10 and 30:29 that David conquered the land of the Jerachmeelites. He evidently made an intertribal treaty with them and turned them into Judahites. Jerachmeel, the ancestor of Sheshan, was adopted as the son of Hezron and as the brother of Ram, the ancestor of David (1 Chr 2:9). Sheshan's clan of Onam became the son of Jerachmeel, and his ancestress Atarah became Jerachmeel's wife (1 Chr 2:26). Sheshan must have been an old tribal chief who concluded a peace treaty with David.

The problem arises: Why did Elishama lay so much weight on so humble an ancestry? We can understand that he was proud of descending from the great statesmen Nathan and Zabad. But why does he not begin with Nathan? Why does he trace his family back to the Egyptian slave Jarha and the Jerachmeelite chief and his ancestors? Presumably because this family tree had come down from Nathan and Zabad. Nathan himself was not only not ashamed to reveal his descent from foreigners and slaves, but he was actually proud of it. His consciousness of foreign slave blood must have been of great significance for Nathan's own spiritual development. Hence he wrote down this genealogy and transmitted it to his descendants, who respected the will of their great ancestor.

The fact that Nathan did not conceal his descent proves that he was a man of fearless and honest character. His political foes, the nationalist, militarist, and orthodox Abiathar, Joab, and Adonijah and their followers, may have employed every opportunity to malign Nathan as a foreigner and the grandson of an Egyptian slave. But King David, who was also of mixed descent, was Nathan's

patron. Benaiah, the chief of the guard, which consisted of foreign troops (Kerethi and Plethi), was on Nathan's side; Zadok was presumably the Jebusite priest-king of Jerusalem who also became a Judahite and was adopted as a descendant of Aaron (see p. 25).

In view of all this, we can understand how Nathan became the great friend of aliens and slaves, the foe of all oppression, intolerance, fanaticism, and hate. His own grandfather probably had told him stories about Egyptian taskmasters, and about the brutality of the overseers, the big landowners, and the priests. Nathan seems to have learned some Egyptian words and stories, so that he later was able to become an interpreter and visited Egypt. Only thus can we understand his familiarity with, and deep understanding of, Egyptian institutions and words as shown in the stories of Joseph and Moses. He tells us the story of a starving people and of the priests who refuse to share the taxes and burden of this exploited and oppressed people (Gen 47:15ff.). Dramatically he describes the treatment of the Israelite slaves by the brutal taskmasters in Exodus 5. This antagonism to Egyptian priest-rule may have made Nathan a foe of any priestly system. Hence he relates how Moses heard a divine voice declare that Israel must become a nation of priests, that is, a nation in which everyone was a priest, with no priestly caste to dominate a toiling and starving people.

This profound thinker must have felt a divine call to liberate his own people from every form of inhumanity and reckless abuse of power. Therefore he went straight to the king after the scandalous Uriah affair and decided to educate Bathsheba's promising son Solomon to rule as a peaceful, humane, just, and enlightened king. Under such a reign, Nathan was convinced, the nation would achieve security, prosperity, health, fertility, and longevity (Ex 23:22,25b,26, all N).

This new experiment of reforming the nation by educating the future ruler was repeated at least three times after Solomon. The priest-regent Jehoiada educated Jehoash (2 Ki 12:3); Isaiah educated Hezekiah (Is 9:5,6); and apparently the priest Hilkiah educated the boy-king Josiah (2 Ki 22:1-4). The success of these experiments was unequal. The pedantic and authoritarian Jehoiada could influence his royal pupil only as long as he was alive. The three other teachers, three of Israel's greatest spiritual leaders, managed to make their influence felt during the whole lifetime of the

pupil. Solomon did not continue his father's war policy but turned to the building of a peaceful society all the forty years of his reign. Hezekiah and Josiah also discontinued the paganizing syncretism of their fathers and dedicated themselves to the national and religious objectives set up by their teachers. Plato's dream of philosophers who were kings and kings who were philosophers was actually realized in Israel through this politico-pedagogic experiment, which coupled wisdom and competence with power. This was one of the great achievements of Israel, a contribution to the humanizing and spiritualizing of power, whose significance and impact cannot be overrated.

Who wrote the Humanitarian Code in Exodus 22-23?

The lawbook of Exodus 21-23 consists of four different codes: a civil casuistic code (Ex 21:1-11; 18-22:16); an apodictic penal code (Ex 21:12-17; 22:17-19); a religio-ritual code (Ex 20:20-23; 22:27-30; 23:10-19), and a humanitarian code (Ex 22:20-26; 23:1-9). The author agrees with Professor Alt that the apodictic penal code was of Mosaic origin. The casuistic civil code and the religio-ritual code may have been Hebrew adaptations of a Palestinian code and consequently have some similarities to the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite codes. Since Exodus 22:27 was the natural sequence of v. 19, and Exodus 23:10 continued Exodus 22:29, the humanitarian code must have been interpolated.

The text itself has been expanded by later additions. Verse 22 continued verse 20a; verses 20b, 21, 22a (and v. 23, which referred to v. 21), were added later. In verse 24 the phrase "my people" is also a later, explanatory gloss. Verses 23:4, 5 interrupts the context; it may have originally stood after Exodus 22:26. The law recommends that three groups of underprivileged individuals be taken care of: the stranger, the poor man, and the suffering beast. Exodus 23:1-3; 6-9 enjoin impartial and honest justice: there is to be no slander, no intimidation, no rule of an unjust majority, no discrimination, no punishment by proxy, and no bribery. At the end we are warned not to maltreat the stranger, for "you know the soul of a stranger, for you were strangers in Egypt." This is no explanatory gloss, but a telling psychological argument.

There is another appeal to human compassion in Exodus 22:26 (the garment taken as a pledge must be returned at sunset, for "this is his only covering, wherein shall he sleep?"). Exodus 23:8 con-

tains another fine human observation. "The bribe blinds those who see well and perverts the words of the righteous." This humanitarian code was familiar to the basic Deuteronomic codifier (ED). Deuteronomy 22:1-4 gives the law of returning objects a wider application. It is not only a lost animal that must be returned, but lost garments and other lost items as well. Deuteronomy 23:20,21 forbids not only the taking of interest on money, but also interest on victuals or on any other item lent on interest. Deuteronomy 16:19 enjoins impartiality in administering justice and even quotes the statement about the blinding and perverting force of a bribe. But although the application of the juridical principle is larger than in Exodus, the spirit of the law in Deuteronomy is less universal and less profound. Whereas Exodus enjoins the Hebrew to tend to every beast that has gone astray or has been overburdened, even the beast of an enemy, Deuteronomy restricts the injunction to a fellow Hebrew's beast. It forbids the taking of any manner of interest from a brother Hebrew, but permits the taking of interest from a foreigner. It does not mention that the Hebrew must not mistreat a stranger or that he must stand up to his moral convictions against a majority, if it is mendacious. Deuteronomy distinguishes between two kinds of aliens: the alien settler (*ger*) and the foreign trader (*nochri*). A beast which dies of itself must not be eaten; but it may be given to an alien settler or sold to a foreign trader (Dt 14:21). This proviso shows that the basic Deuteronomy (ED) regarded the alien settler as not equal to the native Hebrew, but inferior to him. In Deuteronomy 23:8, ED enjoins "do not abhor an Edomite, for he is your brother, and do not abhor an Egyptian, because you were a stranger in his land." The basic Deuteronomy was edited at the time of Elisha. Most aliens came from Phoenicia as traders or settlers. Elisha fought a life-and-death struggle with the Phoenician cult of the Tyrian Baal. Hence he was hostile to these aliens from the west and north. But he could be more tolerant of Egyptian or Edomite traders, and looked for arguments to discriminate in favor of them and against the other foreigners.

The Hezekian edition of Deuteronomy took a different attitude towards alien immigrants and traders. Many of the northern Israelites came to the south after the fall of Samaria. Therefore the law enjoined the Judean to love these aliens. Yahweh "loves an alien and gives him bread and garment." "Therefore love the stranger; for

you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Dt 10:18,19). PC and the Hezekian Deuteronomy both quote this phrase from Exodus, but neither of them renders its original human motivation, "for you know the soul of a stranger"—the only explanation why the stranger is not to be mistreated. Hence, the man who created this formula cannot have been the Hezekian editor, but the author of Exodus 23:9. The formula is repeated, without its psychological explanation, in Exodus 22:20b in the same way as in Deuteronomy. This v. 20b is too a Hezekian addition. The same interpolator also added verses 21, 22a and 23. There were many wars during the Hezekian period, so that many women became widows and many children were made fatherless. In those days, verses 21,22a,23 were added to warn the people that they should not neglect their humane duties to these needy persons; if they did so, God would make their wives widows and their children fatherless.

All these considerations make it clear that the writer of the humanitarian code in Exodus (in its original shape) wrote before Elisha, that he was a personality of greater humaneness, universality, and profundity than Elisha, the great spiritual leader of the North. He must have written at a time when there were many aliens among the Hebrew population who were being mistreated. This takes us to the Davidic period, when there were many troops, officers, and craftsmen and other qualified alien people among the Hebrews: e.g., the bodyguard of David, some of the officers (like Uriah the Hittite), and later the Tyrian craftsmen who built the temple and palaces under Solomon.

The lawbook of Exodus 21-23 was written before David, probably by Samuel. Some copies of it must have been in the hands of high officials. Some authoritative person must have added this humanitarian segment to this lawbook. The spirit of this added code is the very spirit of the prophet Nathan and of the author of N. Especially reminiscent of N is the deep love for suffering animals and the sympathy for the needy which characterize the parable Nathan tells David. Of course, there is no absolute proof. One can assume that it was written by his son Zabad or another of Nathan's disciples or pupils. Probably it was the master himself. In any case, it telescopes all of Nathan's finest sentiments and ideas. Beside the sympathy for the underprivileged there is the idea of moral courage in defying a powerful but vicious majority. The

righteous Noah, Lot in Sodom, the Egyptian midwives, and the seer Balaam, all showed this courage. Judah proved this courage by standing up to his brethren when they wanted to kill Joseph; Moses proved it when he liberated the people by negotiating with the stubborn Pharaoh. But Aaron showed he did not have it when he followed the majority and betrayed the divine laws. Nathan himself had this courage when he went to David after the Bathsheba episode and again when he opposed David's wish to build a house of cedar to his God.

There are several other features which are unique with N and are not to be found in any other writer. "Keep far from any falsehood!" This is the first proclamation by a statesman that truth is a supreme value. We find it again in Numbers 23:19: "God is no man that he should lie," or in Exodus 34:6, "abounding in steadfast love and truth." According to our analysis, these passages have to be attributed to N. Another unique feature is N's insistence that justice must be therapeutic, and not vindictive. Exodus 23:7b is a corrupt text. As we suggested on p. 30, the best emendation is to read: "You must not slay a person who is not guilty, in order to avenge the blood of an innocent man." It was the practice to expiate a murder by slaying an accused person, even one whose guilt was not fully proved, or any scapegoat, preferably a son, a slave, or a captive. People feared that if the wrath of God were not appeased, He would wreak havoc on the community (see 2 Sam 21). The author of this passage regards this practice not as justice, but as murder. Justice must prevent wrong-doing, not shed blood in order to appease a wrathful god. For Yahweh is not wrathful, but patient (Ex 34:6). "He is not like a man who is fickle" (Nu 23:19).

In contrast to all the other writers, N never describes God's wrath as having been kindled. N explicitly condemns wrath. "Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce; and their wrath, for it is cruel" (Gen 49:7). Even when referring to man, N employs milder expressions for anger (Gen 4:5; 27:33; 31:35; 32:8; 35:5; 38:7, 10; 41:8, 10; 48:17). N uses the phrase only in the negative (Gen 44:18; Ex 32:22); in Exodus 11:8, when Pharaoh threatens to kill Moses if he comes again, N has Moses say: "He went out from Pharaoh in hot anger." In such a case even a balanced man may lose his temper.

However, Jp often uses the phrase "the anger of Yahweh was kindled" (Ex 4:14; Nu 22:22; 25:3; probably also in Nu 11:1, 33;

12:9). Very instructive is Numbers 11:10, where we read, "And the anger of Yahweh was kindled, and Moses was displeased." The repetitious style betrays two hands. Probably the second, milder phrase comes from the more balanced N, and the first, harsher phrase from the less balanced Jp. Jp interpolated his phrase to make the emotion stronger.

That N did not believe Yahweh to be vindictive can be seen from the story of Cain, whom Yahweh does not strike down with fire from heaven, but protects against avengers after he has repented. After Israel has reverted to the idolatrous cult, Yahweh, in N's old record, forgives the people when Moses prays for His forgiveness. Nathan adopted the same course with David. After David repented his crime, the prophet assured him that Yahweh would forgive him (2 Sam 12:13).

There are eight prosaic passages in the Tetrateuch which represent Yahweh as a vindictive deity who is capable of slaying the righteous along with the wicked in his wrath. None of these passages can stem from N, as a careful, unbiased analysis of the texts reveals. Let us examine these passages one by one and see why none of them can be attributed to N.

In Genesis 12:16, N describes how Pharaoh is kind of Abram for Sarai's sake, giving him sheep and oxen, asses, and male and female slaves. Then he calls Abram to him and says: "What is it that you have done to me? Why did you not tell me that she was your wife? Why did you say: 'She is my sister,' so that I took her for my wife? Now then, here is your wife, take her, and be gone" (v. 18-19). N has Abram, attempting to save his own life by a lie, put his wife in a very painful situation. Abram had assumed that the king of Egypt was a selfish tyrant who had no regard for the dictates of decency or morality. But Abram erred. The king turned out to be far more sensitive to moral obligations than Abram had assumed. When the king realized that Sarai was married, he was displeased and called Abram to account, discussing the matter with him in reasonable, not emotional, terms. After returning Sarai to her husband, "Pharaoh gave men orders concerning him; and they set him on the way with his wife and all that he had" (v. 20). His visit to Egypt taught Abram that his prejudice against the Egyptians was unfounded and that they were as decent a people as the Hebrews. This fine practical lesson in tolerance and human brother-

hood was not understood by the nationalistic Jp. It offended him to read that Abram's wife had been in the arms of an Egyptian king. Therefore he interpolated a passage indicating divine interference: "And Yahweh plagued Pharaoh (and his house) with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife" (v. 17). The words "and his house," placed in the Hebrew text after "plagues" instead of after Pharaoh," are evidently a later expansion. This clumsy interjection plays havoc with the whole story. First, Pharaoh is friendly and generous, honest and decent, and Yahweh's reaction is to plague him! Then Pharaoh resumes his politeness to Abram and his wife. If the divine intervention had been in the original, God would have prevented the king from touching Sarai, as in the parallel E story (Gen 20:6), or the writer would not have mentioned immediately before the account of divine intervention that Pharaoh was friendly to Abram for Sarai's sake. The implication is that Pharaoh was far from being a wicked man who deserved to be plagued. If Pharaoh had only turned friendly out of fear of the mighty Hebrew God, he would not have been represented as friendly before.

In Exodus 5:3 Moses and Aaron say to Pharaoh: "The God of the Hebrews has met with us; let us go, we pray, a three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to Yahweh our God, lest he fall upon us with pestilence or with the sword." According to N, only Moses goes to Pharaoh. At first Moses refuses to go, but God encourages him, saying, "I shall teach you how to speak" (Ex 3:16,18;4:10-12). According to the priestly interpolator (Ex 4:14-17), Aaron becomes Moses' mouthpiece. The same Jp describes a meeting between Moses and Aaron in Exodus 4:27-28. Jp does not have Moses alone, but Moses and Aaron together, assemble the elders of Israel (v. 29). Apparently Jp also interpolated Aaron as the speaker in many of the texts that describe the plagues. Consequently Exodus 5:3 represents a revised text. It is uncertain whether the last phrase "lest he fall, etc." was in N's text or was added by Jp. It is even doubtful whether the phrase "let us sacrifice" was in the original rather than the term "let us worship," as in most parallel passages attributable to N. In Exodus 3:18;8:23, the phrase "let he fall, etc." is omitted. Probably it was not in the original text of Exodus 5:3 either.

In Exodus 17 we have two records of the battle with Amalek. Verses 8,9a,10a,13 relate how Amalek attacks Israel, and Moses

orders Joshua to choose men to fight against these aggressors. Joshua discomfits Amalek with the edge of the sword. This is a brief and sober report of a writer who was simply recording facts. This text was elaborated by the introduction of a miraculous episode, in which Aaron and Hur support Moses' arms so that he can pray until sunset. Then God tells Moses to record the story of this event, for "I will wipe out the memory of Amalek." Moses builds an altar and swears eternal war between Yahweh and Amalek. This account has all the features of a story with a priestly origin. Since verse 9b (mentioning the rod of Elohim) is an annotation by E, the episode was old and could have been interpolated only by Jp and not by Pn or PC. The miraculous episode may have its origin in an explanation of the name Rephidim, which may be read with Gressmann as *rafu yadaim*—"the arms slackened." If N had had this episode, he would have explicitly explained the connection between the story and the place name, as he did when he dealt with Marah, Massah, the Graves of Lust, and other places.

In Exodus 32:35 we read: "And Yahweh sent a plague upon the people, because they worshiped [read '*avdu* for '*assu* = made] the idol that Aaron had made." This does not fit into the N record, which has Moses tell the Israelites that they have sinned by making gods of gold. Moses asks God either to forgive the people or to kill him (v. 33). When God rejects the second alternative, Moses enters into a discussion with God of the problem of God's ways and will. It is revealed to Moses that Yahweh is a God of forgiving love. In thankful devotion, Moses bows his head. It is hard to believe that the writer of this moving story should have represented Yahweh as a forgiving and patient God after describing him as plaguing all the people indiscriminately with the exception only of Aaron. This can only have been an annotation made by Jp for two reasons: First, the sin was so great that Yahweh must have become wrathful and punished the people severely. Second, Jp wished to show that the people were guilty, and not Aaron, who had only been the victim of their desires. He made the idol unwillingly; the people, however, had worshiped it of their own free will.

Numbers 14:11,12 reads: "How long will this people despise me? . . . I will strike them with the pestilence and disinherit them, and will make of you a nation greater and mightier than they." Moses objects to this suggestion on the ground that the inhabitants

of the land would then say that it was, because Yahweh had not had the power to bring the Israelites into the land of Canaan, that he had slaughtered them in the desert (v. 14-16). Reminding God of His own revelation, Moses asks that the people be forgiven, and God consents (v. 17-20). This suggestion is also mentioned in Deuteronomy 9:28.

Whose was the brain that invented a divine plan of this kind? The plan reflects a certain historical situation. After the fall of Samaria, because Yahweh was being worshiped in the form of a young bull, and in the emergency of the invasion of Sanherib who was on the outskirts of Jerusalem, the religious leaders may have prayed to God not to destroy or disinherit all of Israel because of the effect this would have on the other nations. Verse 11b-20 is a Hezekian interpolation. To J belong in Numbers 14 only verses 1b, 2b,3,4, followed by 11a,21a,22a (except "my glory and my signs"), 23a,24,25 (21-24 is probably Jp).

For Numbers 17:6-15, in which Aaron halts a plague which has killed 14,700 men, see pp. 163, 164. For Nu 25 (Baal Peor episode) see p. 163. The war of revenge waged against the Midianites in Numbers 25:16,17,18a;31:1-5;7-10 cannot be attributed to N, as *b'ne yisrael* in 31:2,9 indicates. The style (*matteh* for "tribe," not *shevet*), and the hate of the Midianites indicate Pn as the narrator. Pn also justifies the policy of mass retaliation of Simeon and Levi in the Dinah episode (Gen 34).

N was convinced that Yahweh, "the judge of the whole world," would not slay the innocent along with the wicked (Gen 18:25). This attitude excludes all campaigns of revenge or hate directed against persons, tribes, or nations. Such campaigns, as N has Jacob say, make the avengers "odious" (or literally "stinking") to the inhabitants of the country (Gen 34:30).

MYTHOLOGY AND MIRACLES: CONFLICTING VIEWS

Mythology

The preceding chapters have argued (we trust, convincingly) that the Pentateuchal stories from Adam to Moses were not compiled from different independent sources (J E D P), but that there was originally one basic J document which was annotated by E D P.

The nucleus (N) of this J document was written in the Davidic age by a humane, enlightened, and balanced literary genius who believed in human brotherhood, and who, in a war-ridden era, envisioned a peaceful civilization with a bloodless cult and judicial system. Japhet, the ancestor of the Western nations, the Egyptians, and the Philistines, was to dwell together peacefully with Shem, the ancestor of the Semitic nations and tribes. Abraham, who was to become a blessing to all families of the earth, was portrayed as a hero of peace and generosity. Yahweh was not the God of a particular nation or period, but the Creator and Ruler of the whole world from the beginning of time. He looked after the Sodomites, Shechemites, Philistines, and Egyptians as well as the Hebrews—a compassionate and humane, not a passionate and human, God. Ever since Cain's murder, all righteous men, whether Hebrews or non-Hebrews, had called on His name, prayed to Him, and thanked Him. These included not only Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses; but Noah, Abraham's servant, the priest of Salem, the priest of Midian, and the Aramean seer Balaam, as well.

There is ample evidence that identifies the author of this remarkable N document with the first prophet of the moral tradition, the statesman Nathan, who was David's spiritual adviser. Presumably Nathan wrote with the intention of instructing his pupil Solomon and other pupils in those practices which make for a humane, peaceful, enlightened, and just ruler or statesman. His book was so outstanding that the priests of his time accepted it as their textbook for the education of priests. For this purpose they revised it, readapting it to their priestly views and interests. The priests missed in the book any reference to the sacrificial cult and colorful popular traditions of a semi-mythological and supernatural character. They also missed any authoritarian view of life and religion. For the priests regarded Yahweh not only as a God of mercy and peace, but also as a God of wrath and war. Although He looked after all peoples, Yahweh's preference was His own people, Israel, and His own land, Canaan.

This revised document became sacred and was commented upon in the next century by the northern prophetic Elohists, who were probably Elisha (E), and by the southern priestly Elohists, who were probably the priest-regent Jehoiada (Pn). Both commentators were fervent nationalists in theology and ethics. In the interest of Yah-

weh, bloody warfare, bloody cult, and bloody justice were not only allowed but even commanded. Both antipagan leaders had no scruples about employing violence for the purpose of expanding the power of Yahwism. In other respects they differed greatly: the northern prophet was humane and social-minded and possessed of great visionary and hypnotic powers; the southern priest was a mathematical-juristic type, who appreciated, beside figures and contracts, wealth, power, family trees, and longevity.

During the reign of Hezekiah a royal commission collected the sacred literature of the North and the South; it combined the northern and the southern versions of the Pentateuchal narratives, and readapted and enlarged the northern basic Deuteronomy (ED) to the southern Jerusalemite Deuteronomy (JD). The paganizing recrudescence of the Manasseh era caused the high priest Hilkiah, the spiritual adviser of King Josiah, to compile the Priestly Code (PC) and to incorporate it into the Pentateuch.

This brief summary implies that the Pentateuch is neither the work of one genius nor the compilation of several independent books, but a master document which had grown to a master collection by annotators of different regions, periods, and viewpoints.

The different viewpoints are often relevant and have become of great significance for the history of our western religion, philosophy, and culture. They occur first, and are first conspicuously perceptible, in the J document. The present chapter will show that the J document actually indicates two different strands of theology, two conflicting attitudes towards mythology, miracles, and anthropomorphism, which gives our thesis of the priestly revision of a humane and enlightened master work a high degree of validity and plausibility.

We use the word "mythological" to refer to all accounts of divine or heavenly beings (gods or angels) communicating with one another or with human beings in a visible form. By "mythological" we do not mean any accounts of human beings hearing a voice of injunction or encouragement, that delivers a message which the addressee feels to be of universal importance. To many of the greatest Hebrew prophets and saints, the deepest and loftiest message came not as a vision, but as a voice.

The Pentateuch never calls Yahweh "the God of the Hosts," as other Biblical writers do, but it presupposes the existence of a

heavenly assembly three times. In Genesis 3:22 and 11:7, Yahweh warns his peers against man's rise and initiates drastic action to prevent it. There is much evidence for ascribing these two passages to the revising priest (Jp). In Genesis 3:21 and 23 Yahweh is described as friendly even to sinners: Yahweh provides Adam and his wife with clothing, after they have stolen the forbidden fruit, and then "sends them forth from the garden to till the ground." Yahweh does not leave the primal pair to their misery, but helps them mercifully with clothing and sustenance. Verse 23 is the natural sequence of verse 21.

But, reading verses 22 and 24, we perceive that they belong to an entirely different world. Yahweh is not the only God. He is one among His peers, is envious of and hostile to man, who, He fears, may even eat of the tree of life and become immortal. So in His severity He drives man out of Eden, barring access to the tree of life, stationing terrifying monsters before it, the cherubim with the flaming sword. The tree of life does not play any role in N's master story. It is an editorial addition (probably by Jp) in Genesis 2:9, which was made to read: "and the tree of life in the midst of the garden and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil"—a very awkward interpolation. If N had mentioned both trees in the original, he would have written, "and the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the midst of the garden," or "in the midst of the garden the tree of life and the tree of knowledge." Then he would have gone on to mention the tree of life in Genesis 2:17 as well. Evidently N avoided the fabulous tree of life and mentioned only the tree of knowledge. A better translation is "tree of love," for *da'ath* means love as well as knowledge. The tree of love is no magic tree, but one whose fruit stimulates passion. There are such plants, and their existence was known to N (see Gen 30:14ff.). Apparently the priests restored the popular tradition of a tree of life and turned the tree of love into a tree of knowledge by adding to the substantive the attributive phrase "of good and evil," which, as G. von Rad remarks, is not good Hebrew.

The story of Genesis 11 has also been elaborated by the priests. The original N story tells of the attempt by the men of Shinar to prevent dispersion by building a city with a skyscraper in the center. This concentration of population was not in the interest of human development. Consequently Yahweh dispersed the popula-

tion, and the building of the city was stopped. The enlightened author saw centralization as a threat to humanity and advocated decentralization. From N stem verses 2-5,6a (excluding "and one language to all"), 8. The priests (Jp) added verses 1,6b,7,9 (and the above-mentioned passage in 6a). They thought of Yahweh as opposed to a united mankind which would threaten devotion to God; hence Yahweh and His fellows confused the languages, that men might not be able to communicate with one another. The motive is the same as in Genesis 3:22,24. Verse 9b is proof that the text was tampered with, for it repeats the same fact as verse 8a, and cannot have been written by the same author. There are other differences: N speaks of the invention of brick and mortar which led to the building of tall houses and towers; Jp protests against the use of the Babylonian language as the *lingua franca* of his time and advocates the return to national languages.

Whereas God warns His divine fellows against the threat of man's rise in these two Jp passages, in Genesis 1:26 God invites His fellows to create man in their image. This act of friendship for mankind stems from Pn. Pn regarded Adam as the ancestor of Noah, Noah as the ancestor of Abraham, and Abraham as the ancestor of Israel (Ex 6:2-9), God's own people to whom He had given His land. To this priestly nationalist the world was created for one people and one land. Every nation had its *elohim*, but Yahweh was the mightiest of all. He had punished the Egyptian gods (Ex 6:6; Nu 33:4). The assembly of *Elohim*, presided over by Yahweh, may have represented either the idea of national *Elohim*, a concept also to be found in Psalms 82, or the idea of cosmic forces, like water and air (Gen 1:2).

E makes frequent mention of *Elohim* and angels. Jacob wrestles with an *Elohim* (Gen 32:29). He meets *Elohim* when camping in Mahanaim (Gen 32:2,3, Hebrew text); he sees an *Elohim* face to face at Peniel (Gen 32:31). Jacob and other patriarchs are guarded from evil by angels (Gen 48:15,16). An angel precedes the camp of Israel in the wilderness (Ex 14:19;23:20-23;32:34;33:2). An angel calls down from heaven to comfort Hagar (Gen 21:17) and to warn Abraham not to harm his son (Gen 22:11). Jacob sees angels going up and down the heavenly ladder (Gen 28:12b).

Outside of E, the only other place where angels are mentioned is in the J document. Genesis 22:14-17, a Hezekian expansion, re-

peats the reference in verse 11 to the angel calling from heaven. The cherubim with the flaming sword in Genesis 2:24 belong to Jp, as we showed above on p. 172. To Jp is also attributable the episode of Balaam's donkey warned by an angel with a drawn sword (Nu 22:22-35), as we showed on p. 000.

Apart from these two record of angels with drawn swords which evidently are Jp rather than N, the J document mentions Yahweh's angel four times: Genesis 16, 18, 19; and Exodus 3. In Genesis 16, we read that an angel of Yahweh found Hagar by a fountain and made inquiries about her. Three distinct speeches, each introduced by "Yahweh's angel said to her," follow. First: "Return and submit to your mistress." Second: "I shall give you countless descendants." Third: "Name your son Ishmael, for Yahweh has heard your affliction." These three speeches cannot all have been in the original. The first condemns Hagar's flight; the third, however, implies that Yahweh is concerned over her misery. The third, which is humanitarian, is in N's spirit; the first, which is authoritarian, is in Jp's. Jp evidently corrected N. The second speech was necessary to form a transition between the first and the third.

If there was originally only one speech, who was the speaker? Verses 13, 14 describe how Hagar was addressed by Yahweh and saw an Elohim—hence she called the fountain *El r'oi* ("God of My Seeing"). If verse 7 was intended to refer to this explanation, it would read, "And she saw Yahweh by the fountain," instead of, "and Yahweh's angel found her by the fountain." The text of verse 7 saying, "And he found her and asked her: 'Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from? and where are you going?'" has its parallel in the story of Joseph in Genesis 37:15, where a man finds Joseph and asks him what he wishes. Probably, in the original N read, "and a *man* found her." Seeing that Hagar was pregnant, the man had pity on her and comforted her, saying that she could name her son Ishmael, for God had heard her affliction. Then the man describes to Hagar the life of a desert-dweller in picturesque terms: "And he shall be a wild ass of a man: his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him" (v. 12). This makes good sense. N told this episode to show that the desert-dwellers were robbers through economic compulsion, but would have compassion on a pregnant woman like other decent people. The priests, however, were interested in the story of Hagar's establishment of

the sanctuary of the well of Lahai Roi. So they added verses 13, 14, making the man an angel who lectures Hagar for having run away from her mistress. They forgot that if Hagar had returned to her mistress with her child, there would be no explanation of why Ishmael became a desert-dweller.

The background of the stories of Genesis 18 and 19 were popular old songs. That follows from the poetic fragments of Genesis 18:12 and 21. The Hebron priests believed that Abraham was the founder of the sanctuary which was located in the terebinths of Mamre. This tradition must have described a theophany, a real appearance of a god, and was early connected with another tradition to the effect that Abraham had no natural heir in his old age. We have three different records of these events: Genesis 15,17, and 18. Genesis 15:7-21 (Yahwist) can only stem from Jp, because it contains a covenant concluding with animal sacrifices and terrifying visions ("a dread and great darkness fell upon him. . . . When the sun had gone down and it was dark, behold a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch passed between these places"). That excludes the humane and rational N. Since Genesis 15:7-21 was annotated by E (v. 16, as "Amorite" indicates) and by Pn (v. 13b and 14b, as "400 years" and *r'chush*—possession—indicate), it must stem from the pre-partition period.

Genesis 17 (the covenant with Abraham and his circumcision) stems undoubtedly from Pn. Verses 12,13a,14,27, the legislative details concerning circumcision, were added by the Josian editor of the Priestly Code (PC), see p. 123.

Genesis 18:1-26 belongs to the Yahwist document and is concluded by verse 33. Verses 27-32, describing Abraham's bargaining with God over the number of righteous persons necessary to save a wicked city (and the figure "fifty" in verses 24 and 26) may have been interpolated by the numerologist Pn. Genesis 19 (the two angels save Lot) belong to the Yahwist document. Verse 29 was inserted by Pn to emphasize that God did not save Lot on his own merits, but only at Abraham's request, and as his near relative. This is in keeping with Pn's nationalistic view, for Lot was the ancestor of Moab and Ammon, Israel's enemies.

The problem arises: Who are the three men in Genesis 18:2? Why have we only two wayfarers in chapter 19, who are called "angels" in 19:1 and 19:15, but "men" in all the other passages?

Was Yahweh himself the third man, and was he also the speaker in Genesis 18:10, who says that he will come again next year? If so, Abraham would have shared a meal with Yahweh making this the only passage in the whole Pentateuch where Yahweh eats with men. True, we read in Exodus 24:11 that "the leaders saw the Deity [*Elohim*] and were eating and drinking" (on the peak of Mount Sinai); but even in this passage Yahweh is represented only as present, but not as sharing a meal with men. In Genesis 18:25 Yahweh is called the judge (or ruler) of the whole world. It is very hard to believe that the same author would picture God both as eating with men, and as the judge or ruler of the whole world.

Now Genesis 17-21 contains a monologue of Yahweh. Verse 20, however, begins, "And Yahweh said." Why repeat within Yahweh's monologue that Yahweh is speaking? Verse 19 ("For I have loved him that he may charge his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of Yahweh to do righteousness and justice so that Yahweh may bring to Abraham what he promised him") makes very hard reading. Obviously the text has been tampered with. It is also difficult to understand why verse 10 ("And he said, I shall come back") indicates no speaker, but verse 13, which continues the speech of verse 10, is introduced by "And Yahweh said." Furthermore, the speaker repeats in verse 14b what has been said in verse 10a, but speaks of Yahweh in verse 14a in the third person, so that the speaker cannot be Yahweh.

There is no doubt that this chapter is the meeting ground for the loftiest and the crudest concepts in the whole Pentateuch, when viewed from a religio-historical point of view. The problem cannot be solved by assuming that verse 19 (Abraham's house is to become a model of righteousness and justice) and verse 25 (questioning the Judge of the world's justice) were post-prophetic expansions of a cruder text. Neither the Hezekian nor the Josian editors deal with such a subject or use such phrases. Even the literary prophets and historians were familiar only with the stereotyped formula "justice and righteousness" (in that order), never "righteousness and justice." Abraham's bargaining with God is meaningless without verse 25. But all the difficulties may be solved along the following lines:

N humanized the old mythological legend. He made the angels wayfarers. Abraham serves as an example of how to treat strangers, contrasting his generosity with the brutality the Sodomites display

to the stranger Lot in chapter 19. Abraham's humane attitude is the reason for his election. Abraham is to become the pioneer of a righteous and just society. The first proof Abraham gives of his sense of justice and compassion is his attitude towards the destruction of Sodom. When he hears that such a destruction is in the making, he prays to God to forgive the inhabitants if there are some righteous persons among them. The author announces God's plan in the form of a monologue, a figure of speech characteristic of N (see Genesis 6:7;8:21). The voice of Yahweh tells Abraham that Sodom will be doomed if the wickedness of its inhabitants is confirmed by evidence and not by rumor alone. The wayfarers witness the brutality and save the hospitable Lot and his family.

In this version Yahweh does not take part in the meal. After the meal, as was usual, the guests ask after the well-being of the family. They hear that Sarah is childless and comfort her, saying that they will come again and that Sarah will have a son, a remark which makes Sarah laugh, because of her age. But they say that such things may happen.

The N text, we assume, did not have the word "three" in verse 2 or the words "two angels" in Genesis 19:1 and 15. Genesis 18:13 had no "Yahweh," so verse 14 speaks of Yahweh in the third person. The words in verse 19, "and they shall keep the way of Yahweh," and 19b, were not in N, since they speak of Yahweh in the third person. In verse 20, N originally read, "And Yahweh said *to Abraham*." "*To Abraham*" has crept into verse 19 as "*on Abraham*" (*'el Abraham* to *'al Abraham*). Verse 18 appears to have been a Hezekian expansion (the J document has "all the families of the earth"; the Hezekian editors, "all the peoples of the earth." See p. 156).

Jp regarded this version as not sufficiently supernatural. Hence Jp restored the popular tradition that Hebron became a sanctuary because Yahweh visited Abraham there and shared a meal with him, and that the angels announced the birth of Isaac, saved Lot, and destroyed Sodom. Therefore they added "three" in verse 2. The speaker in verses 10 and 13 was Yahweh. They also added 22b, "drew near" in 23, "two angels" in 19:1, and "angels" in verse 15. They had Yahweh visit only Abraham to honor him, while Sodom was destroyed and Lot was saved, by the angels of Yahweh.

Jp also added the miraculous feature in Genesis 19:11. N could

not have written it, for "the men" in verses 10 and 12 (N) refers to the wayfarers, while in verse 11 it refers to the Sodomites, showing another hand at work. The miraculous Zoar episode (v. 18-22) seems also to have been interpolated by Jp. Perhaps it was an old feature of the story, from the version of the people of Zoar. Jp also added verse 13, which contrasts with verse 14. N thought of Yahweh as destroying the town, Jp of the two angels. Verse 24b (Yahweh sends fire from heaven) may have been added by the Hezekian editor to prevent "Yahweh" in verse 24a from being misunderstood as referring to one of the angels.

Genesis 32:25 (Hebrew text) is another proof that N turned the angels of the popular tradition into human beings. The person who wrestles with Jacob is called "a man." Jacob injures the stranger (v. 26a), and when he attempts to leave, compels the stranger to bless him. The stranger calls him Israel, for "you have striven with men and have prevailed." "Men" refers to the stranger and perhaps to Laban as well. Our present text, "with men and with Elohim," cannot have been in the original. For N does not mention Elohim. Elohim was added by E, who also altered the meaning of the text to make Jacob the injured person, adding verse 26ba ("and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was strained") and 32b ("and he limped upon his thigh"). Verse 31 (Jacob sees Elohim face to face in Peniel) is also from E, who calls the name of the place Peniel, and not Penuel, as N does in verse 32a.

We have seen that angels or elohim occur in the J document only in passages which have been evidently tampered with. That cannot be accidental; the fact is that N's text was revised by Jp.

We find a similar manipulation of the text in Exodus 3:1,2 (the burning bush story). Omitting verse 1bb ("and came to the mountain of Elohim, to Horeb"), which is surely from E, the subject of verses 1 and 2b is Moses; the subject of 2a, however, is an angel of Yahweh. Verse 2b ("and he saw") evidently follows 1ba ("and he led the flock beyond the wilderness"). Consequently verse 2a ("And the angel of Yahweh appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush") must have been interpolated by Jp, who, as we have remarked, preferred the colorful semi-mythological popular tradition.

A critical analysis of all controversial passages leads to the conclusion that N deliberately omitted all references to angels or elo-

him in heaven or on earth, to divine assemblies in heaven and to the Yahweh of hosts. Why did he deviate from the usual practice? The only plausible answer is that he did not believe in the existence of secondary divine beings or messengers. N believed only in one creative and ruling cosmic power which he called Yahweh, and which he defined as "merciful, helpful, steady, and trustworthy." Hence his universalism in ethics, theology, and politics. Man's spirit could hear Yahweh's voice, but man's eyes could never see His embodiment, for "God is no man" (Nu 23:19 N).

However, are there not even in N some anthropomorphic passages which cannot be ascribed to the revising priests, but which must have been in the original text, such as Genesis 2 and 3 and Exodus 4:24ff.? In Genesis 2 we read: Yahweh fashioned man of the dust of the ground . . . planted a garden where he put man . . . made trees grow; Yahweh caused a deep sleep to fall upon man . . . took a rib from man's side . . . closed up the flesh and shaped a woman. . . . All these phrases were meant to describe natural phenomena, caused by Yahweh in the same way as "Yahweh caused it to rain" (Gen 19:24a), "sent thunder and hail" (Ex 9:23). Even Genesis 7:16, "Yahweh shut him in," may be interpreted as a natural phenomenon: the power of the water pressed against the door and kept it shut. Yet what about Genesis 3:8, "And Yahweh walking in the garden"? If that was really in N's text, of course, he conceived his deity as having a man-like body. However, the text has been misread and misinterpreted. The word *mithhalech* ("walking or moving") refers not to Yahweh, but to *qol yabweh* ("the voice of Yahweh"—thunder, see Ex 9:23,28;19:16;20:18, and Ps 29); and *lruach hayom* must be vocalized with Kittel as *lruach hayam* (as in Ex 10:19), meaning "with the west wind." Adam and his wife heard a thunderstorm coming with the west wind into the garden. If Yahweh had appeared in person, Adam would have said in verse 10: "I have *seen* you coming," and not "I have *heard* your voice." Our interpretation makes the story much more dramatic and natural. Having sinned, Adam hears a thunderstorm, the voice of God, and fearfully hides.

The story of Exodus 4:24-26 (Zipporah circumcised her son) has also been misunderstood because of two slight scribal errors. According to Exodus 2:22, Zipporah bore Moses only one son, Gershom. Therefore in Exodus 4:2 the vocalization should be *b'no*

("his son") rather than *banav* ("his sons"). Verse 24 follows 20a (20b was added by E, and 21-23, a forecast, by the Hezekian editor). *Vayifg'shebu* ("he met him") probably was misspelled by a copyist, who saw the same word in verse 27, where it was correctly used. Originally verse 24 had *vayifge'bu* ("and he struck him"). Verse 24bb ("and he wanted to kill him") is an explicatory gloss, because "he met him" was not clear. The author describes how Moses' son becomes ill on the journey. Zipporah resolutely circumcises her son and when making love with Moses (v. 25ac) says: "A bloody bridegroom you are to me." She fears that Gershom will die. But when he recovers, she corrects her remark, wittily explaining that bloody referred to the blood of the circumcision and not to the life-blood of her son who was in peril of his life.

The story itself may have been a Kenite tradition. The Kenites knew that Moses did not care for circumcision (see Jos 5:2-3E), perhaps because it was also an Egyptian practice and he hated all Egyptian practices. The story was preserved by N to explain why the Israelites circumcised their little ones and not their adolescents, as other tribes did. This humane custom was introduced by the Midianite wife of Moses. Israel and Moses learnt many good things from Midian (see Ex 18).

This brief story is one of the finest, loftiest, and most humane accounts written by N: The great Hebrew leader is on his way to liberate his people but is helpless to save his own son. At this point, a simple practical woman, a non-Hebrew Midianite, saves her child by a brief operation. Boldly taking the initiative, she humanizes the brutal rite of adolescent circumcision. This story is reminiscent of the account in Exodus of how the Egyptian midwives defy the decree of a brutal king and save the lives of the Hebrew boys. There is still another story which breathes the same spirit—that of the callous landlord Nabal and his warm-hearted wife Abigail. The present writer thinks that all three stories were written by the same humane author. In any case, there is no trace of demonism or pornography in the Zipporah episode, as some scholars have suggested.

Miracles

What was the attitude of this enlightened story-teller towards miracles? Apart from the few miraculous features in the Sodom

narratives mentioned on p. 226, the Genesis J document is free of miraculous events. N reduces the Flood to a forty-day and forty-night rain. After the Flood, Yahweh proclaims that he will never overwhelm the living world again and that the cosmic order and the natural laws will never be broken. The destruction of Sodom is represented as a volcanic eruption (Gen 19:24a), and is thus reduced to a natural phenomenon.

Whereas the patriarchal age was one of normalcy, the Mosaic age was one of emergency. Such a period naturally is packed with extraordinary and miraculous features. The narratives of the plagues in Egypt, the Red Sea, manna, and the Sinaitic legislation are examples of such features. Our texts emphasize again and again that God showed his signs and performed his wonders in those days "to show you My power and to make My name praised throughout the whole earth" (Ex 9:16), or "that you may tell in the ears of your son, and of your son's son, what I have wrought upon Egypt, and My signs which I have done among them" (Ex 10:2). These passages and others like them were elaborations by the Hezekian editors, who also elaborated in a similar vein on Deuteronomy 1-11.

The account of the plagues repeatedly stresses three miraculous features: the distinction between Israel and Egypt; the forecast of the exact time when the plague will take effect; and the extraordinary magnitude of the plague's effects. On pp. 158, 159 we have seen that the two first features were introduced by Jp and that the third feature originated in the wish of later annotators to embellish and amplify Yahweh's power and prestige.

In Exodus 9:26 we read (in the N record of hailstorm): "Only in the land of Goshen where the children of Israel were, there was no hail." This verse must have been interpolated by a post-Solomonic annotator, for the J document (N and Jp) never calls Israel "children of Israel" (*see* p. 177). That proves that the miraculous feature was not in the original N document. Evidence that the text of the plague account was expanded by sensationalizing sober facts is to be found in Exodus 7:28,29. Verse 29 reads simply: "And the frogs shall come up both on you (and on your people) and on all your servants." Verse 28 knows better: "And the Nile shall swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come into your house, and into your bed-chamber, and on your bed, and into the house of your servants, and on your people, and into your ovens, and into your

kneading-troughs." There is no limit to the fantastic and minute expansions of this kind.

To reconstruct N's account of the plagues, we must omit all elaborations and exaggerations. The account of the first calamity then runs as follows:

And Yahweh said to Moses: 'Pharaoh's heart is stubborn, he refuses to let the people go (Ex 7:14). Go to Pharaoh in the morning as he is going out to the water; wait for him by the river's brink (v. 15a). And you shall say to him: "Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, sent me to you, saying: 'Let my people go that they serve me in the wilderness'; and behold, you have not yet obeyed (v. 16). Thus says Yahweh: 'Behold, I will strike the water that is in the Nile (from v. 17). And the fish in the Nile shall die and the river shall become foul; and the Egyptians will loathe to drink water from the Nile' '" (18). And he struck the water that was in the Nile (from v. 20). And the fish in the Nile died; and the river became foul, so that the Egyptians could not drink water from the Nile v. 21a). And Pharaoh turned and went home, but did not set his heart to it (v. 23). And the Egyptians dug round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink the water of the Nile (v. 24)."

This is a sober, picturesque, and factual account of the first calamity. The compassionate author paints in vivid colors how the people and even the animals suffer from this calamity and how the stubborn king in his selfish callousness refuses to be concerned. There is no mention of God's power or of a decisive contest between Yahweh and other gods, or of Yahweh's favoritism to any one people or any emphasis on signs and wonders. Nothing of the sort. How different this description is from Pn's elaboration. Pn loves blood rites (Ex 24:6; see pp. 120, 121). He regards blood as the soul of man (Gen 9:4). He could imagine no more efficacious punishment of the Egyptian gods than to turn the water of the Nile, the vital Egyptian god, into blood. And so he added the rest of the text. He may also have interpolated Ex 4:9 (blood miracle), for it appears to have been a later addition. Pn is always concerned with decisive contests between Moses and Aaron on the one hand, and the Egyptian magicians on the other (Ex 7:22,8:3,14,15;9:11, all Pn, see p. 131).

There are four other calamities described in a similarly sympa-

thetic, picturesque, and realistic manner as the first plague: those of frogs, flies, hailstorm, and locusts. Frogs: Exodus 7:25-27, 29;8:2b, 4,8,9b-11a. Flies: verses 16,17a (except on "your people and into your houses"), 21-25aa, ac,b, (exc. "to-morrow"). 26a.27ab.28. Hailstorm: Exodus 9:13,18 (exc. "to-morrow"). 19-21,23ab (omit "and hail"), b,24b,25 (omit: "in the whole of Egypt"), 31,32,27,28 (from "enough"), 33aa,b,34a,ba. Locusts: Exodus 10:1a,3,4 (omit "to-morrow"), 5,6b,7-11,13ab,b,14aa,b,15a,16,17aa,b,18a,19a,24,25aa, 26aa,b,28,29. The name of Aaron was probably also interpolated by Jp (see p. 157).

All these descriptions are evidence that N was concerned not with describing sensational miracles, but with painting the human drama of a stubborn and callous tyrant, who gives in when the pressure can no longer be resisted, but retracts when the pressure eases. His own people warn him of the danger, but he is not able to make decisions and keep to them.

The battle at the sea has three miraculous features: 1) Moses divides the sea with his rod and "the children of Israel go into the midst of the sea on dry ground"; 2) the pillars of cloud and fire guide Israel; 3) Yahweh takes off the chariot wheels of the Egyptian riders. None of the three features can belong to N. The first wonder is mentioned three times in the same phrasing (Ex 14:16,29; 15:19): "the children of Israel" betrays post-Solomonic interpolation. Since in Numbers 10, N relates that the Midianite Hobab was the real guide of the wandering Israelites, the supernatural guide, the pillars of cloud and fire, were introduced by Jp. And since Yahweh's taking off of the chariot wheels (v. 25) is connected, as verse 24 shows, with the miracle of the pillars, it is evident that N either did not know of all these miraculous features or ignored them as unreliable or irrelevant.

Omitting the numerous interpolations and elaborations, the basic text of the N document can be reconstructed to read as follows:

When the king of Egypt was told that the people had fled, the mind of Pharaoh and his servants was changed toward the people, and they said, 'What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from serving us?' (14:5). And the Egyptians pursued them, and overtook them encamped at the sea (v. 9aa). And when they lifted up their eyes, behold, the Egyptians were marching after them, and

they were in great fear (from v. 10). Then Moses said to the people, "Stand firm; for the Egyptians whom you see today you shall never see again" (v. 13aa,b). And Yahweh drove the sea back with a strong east wind all night, and turned the sea into dry land (v. 21ab). The Egyptians pursued, and went in after them into the midst of the sea (v. 23aa,b). And the sea returned to its wonted flow when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled into it (v. 27ab). And Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore (v. 30b). Then Miriam, the prophetess, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam sang to them: "Sing to Yahweh, for he has triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea" (v. 15:20, 21).

This is a terse, sober, lucid, and picturesque record of the battle of the sea. It records only that Egyptian riders pursued the fleeing Hebrews and that they were drowned when a strong wind affected the level of the water. Israel thanks God joyfully by means of music, song, and dance for helping the oppressed and punishing the oppressor. It is characteristic of N that he does not mention altar-building and slaughtering of animals (see pp. 204, 205).

The same author gives us a similarly factual record of the manna as a natural phenomenon and not as a supernatural miracle. This is N's record: "In the morning dew lay round about the camp (Ex 16:13b). And when the dew had gone up, there lay on the face of the wilderness a fine flake-like thing, fine as hoarfrost on the ground" (v. 14). (See p. 124.)

In N's view, Yahweh was a law-abiding world ruler. After the Flood he had explicitly declared that he would never again break the natural order (Gen 8:21ab,b,22). In contrast to the annotators, the master narrator never dwells on a decisive test between Yahweh and other gods, but defines His character as the fulfillment of righteousness, justice, humaneness, patience, and constancy (Ex 34:6; Gen 18:19; Nu 23:19).

There are two miraculous features in the Sinaitic legislation: 1) God speaks to the whole people during a storm and a volcanic eruption; 2) God gives Moses two stone tables written by the finger of God. The first feature is absent from the N document. It appears for the first time in E's annotation. (See the analysis of the record of the Sinaitic legislation on pp. 193, 194.)

After the revelation of the Ten Commandments, Yahweh asked Moses to go up the mountain and stay there (Ex 24:12). Moses went up to the mountain (v. 15a), where he stayed forty days and nights (v. 18b). All these passages belong to N, as "mountain" instead of "top of mountain" indicates. According to Jp, Yahweh descended on the mountain peak in fire. Therefore Moses had to go up to the peak (Ex 19:20,18ab). Ex 24:1,2,9,10,11 is an interpolation. (The word "seventy" and verses 10,11a are later expansions, probably by the Hezekian editor). This interpolation was made by Jp, who also wrote Ex 19:22a. The priests missed in N's account a distinction between the leaders (priests and elders) and the people. So they allowed the leaders to come nearer to Yahweh than the people, but not so near as Moses. Exodus 24:13,14 (Joshua, the Ephraimite leader, goes up the mountain with Moses) stems from E. Verses 15b-18a, however, stem from PC, as "glory of Yahweh" indicates.

Now the problem arises: For what purpose does Moses absent himself from the people for forty days? Verse 12 gives an answer. Yahweh wanted to give Moses the stone tables He had written ("the Torah and the commandments" was added by PC). But that would not take forty days. So it may be assumed that the author who gave this answer was not the same as the author who mentioned the forty days of Moses' sojourn on the mountain, so that N wrote 18b and Jp added 12b. N did not say that Moses went up to the top of the mountain, but merely to the mountain ("And Moses was on the mountain," v. 18b).

It seems that the mountain was sacred to the people who lived in its neighborhood. There must have been a shrine near the foot of the mountain. N thought of Moses as visiting the shrine just as Abraham visited the shrines of Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, and Beer-sheba, calling on the name of Yahweh. N realized that a great leader could not always be in close contact with his people and his daily duties. He needed some time to withdraw for contemplation and meditation, for inspiration and revelation. So N has Moses separate himself from his people for forty days and go to the mountain, as he does after destroying the idol fashioned by Aaron.

If the stone tables were a secondary feature added by Jp, then in the N record Moses could not have broken them when he saw the idol (Ex 32:19b). This feature must have been interpolated

by Jp.¹ This theory is plausible for two other reasons: First, N never describes Yahweh's anger as being kindled. In the stories of Adam, Cain, the Flood generation, the Sodomites, Simeon and Levi, and others, Yahweh dislikes evil deeds, but his anger is never kindled, as it is with other authors. (Compare Ex 4:10-12 N with its Jp parallel, 13-16). Since N idealized Moses as a noble and balanced mind, as his negotiations with Pharaoh indicate, he would not have invented or have incorporated an incident describing Moses as wrathful. Jp, who was much more emotional and irrational, was much more likely to have introduced this incident.

Furthermore, Exodus 32:19b says that Moses broke the tables at the foot of the mountain—implying that he had come down from the top of the mountain. That was the concept of Jp, but not N's. Moreover, N does not think of Moses as hysterically destroying the divine tables along with the un-divine idol; he has Moses destroy only the idol. "When he saw the idol and the dances, he took the idol and burnt it." Then N has Moses, before proceeding against any individual, ask Aaron why he had made the idol. N's Moses, we see, does not react passionately, but is "slow in anger," patient and self-controlled as the master narrator himself.

In Exodus 34, all the passages in which stone tables and the top of the mountain are referred to must be ascribed to Jp. Hence N includes verses 1aa,2a,ba,4ab (to "Sinai"), 5b. Of course, "Moses" was the subject of 5b ("and he called on the name of Yahweh") in N. Jp, however, takes Moses to the top of the mountain, to the seat of Yahweh, to a cleft in the rock. Yahweh covers Moses with his hand so that Moses cannot see His face (Ex 33:20-23 Jp). The next morning, when Moses comes up to the top (v. 2bb), Yahweh comes down in a cloud, stands beside Moses (v. 5a) and proclaims the name of God, His own name. In N, Yahweh does not descend to the top of the mountain. Moses only hears the voice of Yahweh when visiting the mountain shrine, whereas Jp has Moses see the likeness of Yahweh clouded. N's Exodus account ended with Ex-

1. 1 Kings 8:9. "There was nothing in the ark except the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb" was added by the reflective and iconoclastic Hezekian editor to the old Solomonic record which contained 1 Kings 8:1aa,ac,2ab,3,4a,5aa,ac,ad,6aa (except "covenant"), 6b,8b. JD referred to Horeb, not to Sinai, as did the other southern writers. He followed ED in this.

odus 34:6,7a,8 to resume with Numbers 10:29, where Moses thanks God for having forgiven the people their sin and is ready to continue his journey (v. 29a to the words "we are journeying," 29b). The middle passage, saying, "to the place promised by Yahweh," is an addition by Jp, referring to Exodus 3:8b, "to the place of the Canaanites, etc." In N we hear nothing of a divine promise to give Israel the land of Canaan. (See pp. 153-155.)

In Exodus 34:1b our text says that Moses is to hew two stone tables on which God will inscribe the same words which were on the first tables. This contradicts Exodus 34:27, where Yahweh says that Moses is to inscribe the words of the covenant which He had just made with Moses (the awkward "and Israel" in verse 27 is an editorial addition). The covenant referred to is that of Exodus 34:10aa,14,17-26 (the expansions stem from the Hezekian editor). Jp distinguishes between a non-ritual decalogue, written by God on heaven-made tables before the people sinned, and a ritual covenant, written by Moses on manmade tables after the people had sinned. This was the compromise of the early Solomonic age between the prophetic ideals and priestly realism.

The Hezekian editors who wrote under prophetic leadership (Isaiah?) did not recognize the existence of two different kinds of tables and two different decalogues. They held that the second tables were also written by God and contained the same Ten Commandments "which Yahweh spoke to you on the mountain out of the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly" (Dt 10:4). Therefore the Hezekian editor added "the Ten Commandments" in Exodus 34:28bb, and read verse 1b as *v'chatavti* ("and I shall write") instead of *v'chatavta* ("and you shall write").

There is no statement anywhere that the Ritual Covenant of Exodus 34 contained only ten commandments. Indeed, they are fifteen. The assumption of many scholars that the Ritual "Decalogue" belongs to an older stage of Israel's religion than the Ethical Decalogue is factually correct, for the Ritual Covenant was a slightly altered re-edition of the last section of the Covenant Code, which was substantially pre-monarchic. The Ethical Decalogue (in its unexpanded form) was the reformulation of the Mosaic laws by N, the humane prophetic writer of the Davidic age. But the Ethical Decalogue was an original part of the Yahwist Prototetateuch, before the revising priests (Jp) put in their Ritual Covenant. If it

is true that N wrote the Ethical Decalogue himself and put it into the mouth of Moses, he could not have believed that that Decalogue had already been inscribed on tables by Moses. The priests, however, could have believed that the divine commandments which the prophetic writer pronounced, were not his own formulation, but reproductions of the original commandments which God spoke to Moses. They may also have believed that God's other addresses to the patriarchs were known to the prophetic writer, either through inspiration or revelation, and were not the creation of his own mind.

Mowinkel's assumption that the Ethical Decalogue had originated among the disciples of Isaiah is based on the misconception that the Ethical Decalogue could only have been written under the influence of the great literary prophets, because it is non-ritualistic and unpriestly. If that were the case, the content would have been different. The Ethical Decalogue would have enjoined the people in vivid language against oppressing the orphan and the widow, exploiting the poor and discriminating against them in court, and being proud and trusting in their own strength; it would have commanded the people to trust Yahweh and to love and fear Him, and to remove prostitution and other inhuman practices from the worship of Yahweh. But none of these fundamentals of the prophetic sermons is to be found in the Ethical Decalogue, as it is in those portions of the Pentateuch which were written under the influence of the literary prophets, especially the Hezekian Deuteronomy and some PC contributions (e.g., Lev 19). This Decalogue could have been written only by a prophetic writer with a lucid style, wide scope, high intelligence, and a fine sense of proportion. He knew how to distinguish between the relevant and the irrelevant in the religion of Yahweh. He was no priest and was not concerned with priestly and ritual matters. His concept of religion was lofty, spiritual, rational and ethical—not mystical. He avoided (in the unexpanded original text) any appeal to fear and punishments, to miracles and mythology. In a word, he had every characteristic of the author of the N document.

On pp. 193, 194 and in greater detail in B.o.B., pp. 60-67, it has been shown that the prologue, the decalogue itself, and the epilogue were originally a unit, and that this unit had a poetic-prophetic form. Apparently the author of N had inserted three longer prophetic poems into his book: Jacob's Farewell Address

(Gen 49), Moses' Divine Laws, and the Balaam Oracles. The first showed Israel as it was, the third as it should be if it fulfilled the Divine Laws of Moses. The Ten Commandments are monumental and perennial, because they were designed by a master mind, who was himself a well-balanced, lucid, and humane genius.

Before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to discuss some anthropomorphic and miraculous features in the stories of Numbers 11, 12, and 16.

Numbers 11 relates three stories: the fire of Taberah, the people's longing for meat, and the inauguration of the seventy elders. The third story was interpolated into the second by E, as the role of Joshua and the ecstatic prophets indicate. The second story began with verse 1a ("And the people murmured speaking evil in the ears of Yahweh"). This was followed by "and they wept and said: 'Who shall give us meat to eat?'" Pn took exception to this passage and corrected it to read, "and the mixed multitude that was among them fell a lusting" in an effort to put the chief blame on the non-Hebrews. In Exodus 12:38 he had stated that the people were a mixed multitude. *B'ne yisrael* indicates a post-Solomonic interpolator.

The Taberah story is another interpolation, is old (known to ED, see Dt 9:22), and can only stem from Jp. The phrase "His anger was kindled" is frequently in Jp. N apparently had omitted this old story which was merely an explanation for a local place name in the wilderness, but the priests restored it, because it showed God's intervention and his stern punishment of those who murmured against him.

N's basic story of the people longing for meat includes Numbers 11:5,6,10a,10bb (10ba is a doublet and ascribable to Jp, as "His anger was kindled" indicates), 11aa (to "Yahweh"), 13,16aa (to "Moses"), 18ab,b,19,20,24a,31, "and the people rose up and gathered the quails" (in v. 32), 33a,bb (ba is Jp), 34. Verses 21-23 were interpolated by Pn. Elsewhere he states that there were 600,000 men who went on foot (Ex 12:37). Of course, such a multitude could never have been fed in the wilderness through natural means, necessitating a miracle.

N's satiric story was intended to warn his readers against following the example of the wilderness generation who preferred slavery and fleshpots to freedom and bloodless food. N seems not to have

believed that meat-eating was healthful and necessary. He apparently rejected the slaughter of animals, as he disliked hunting (Gen 25:27; 10:9; 16:12), being a great lover of animals. Only the unspiritual Isaac enjoys meat. In the garden of Eden man eats only fruit. N calls Canaan the land "which flows with milk and honey" (first in Nu 13:27 N), not the land of wine and cattle and sheep (as in Dt 12:15, 20; 14:26; 28:4, 11). In Genesis 18 the original reading ran: "And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, 'Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes.' And Abraham took curds and milk and set it before them" (Gen 18:6, 8). To some (priestly?) interpolator, such food was not good enough. He interpolated verse 7 ("And Abraham ran to the herd, and took a calf, tender and good, and gave it to the servant, who hastened to prepare it"). The interpolator inserted after "curds and milk" in verse 8, "and the calf which he had prepared," which is stylistically and gastronomically awkward. For three casual guests he may slaughter a lamb, but not a calf; and cakes, curds, milk, and calf is an odd meal. Abraham was more generous than Lot. Lot gave his guests unleavened bread (Gen 19:3) and some drink; Abraham, curds, milk, and cakes.

Numbers 12 originally related only that Miriam spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman he had married (v. 1a). Yahweh heard Miriam's gossip (v. 2b). Then "Aaron turned to Miriam and, behold, she was leprous (v. 10b). And Aaron said to Moses (v. 11a): "Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he comes out of his mother's womb (v. 12). And Moses cried to Yahweh, 'Heal her, O God, I beseech thee'" (v. 13). Next followed the incident of Miriam's exclusion from the camp for seven days; then the people continue their journey (v. 14-16a). This story was based on an old tradition which may have gone back to an historical event (Dt 24:9). The fact was that Miriam, a prophetess whom later legend made Aaron's sister, (Ex 15:20, not yet in N), was leprous and that the journey stopped for seven days.

Why Miriam became leprous was a matter of interpretation. It was thought that leprosy was not simply another organic disease, but was often a sudden visitation because the person visited had guilt feelings. Consequently leprosy was generally considered divine punishment for a secret sin. N, who was a good observer of life, assumed that Miriam was angry because she had been rejected

by Moses, who preferred another woman to her. If Miriam had any guilt feeling, it could only have been because of this personal resentment. N who was interested not in describing miraculous punishments or cures, but in dramatizing human conflicts and characters, contrasted the character of Moses with that of Miriam. Moses did not retaliate; on the contrary, understanding her illness, he prayed for her cure and held up the journey until Miriam had recovered. The humane figure of Moses was, of course, a creation of the humane N. Verse 9, "And the anger of Yahweh was kindled and He departed" was probably added by Jp. "Departed" was interpreted by E as "And a cloud was removed from over the tent" (see Ex 33:9,10 E). All of verse 10a was interpolated by E (therefore the doublet).

The whole story was elaborated on by E, for whom N's explanation was too worldly (see the analysis of the names of Jacob's sons on pp. 137, 138 and the list on pp. 140-142). Therefore Miriam could have come into conflict with Moses only over the problem of spiritual leadership. But then Aaron could not be omitted. Since Aaron was the first to perceive that Miriam was leprous, he must have been her accomplice. Both Miriam and Aaron questioned Moses' superiority as prophet. This provided an occasion for the prophetic writer E to make known his views on the degrees of prophetic rank and inspiration. Aaron was not punished, because that was not in the old tradition, and nobody dared to invent a punishment for him.

The story of Numbers 16 must also have gone back to an old tradition which was based on an historical event—the fact was that some individuals did meet their death in an earthquake. The tradition was uncertain as to who these people were. The oldest tradition spoke of Dathan and Abiram, two Reubenites (see Dt 11:6), whose unusual death was interpreted as a punishment for their revolt against Moses' leadership. Since the Reubenites were the oldest Israelitic tribe, it was small wonder that their leaders resented Moses, the leader of the Levites, who had joined Israel at a later stage, and who claimed to be the supreme leader of the whole people. N regarded this tradition as a wonderful opportunity to prove that not seniority but superiority determine true leadership. This idea runs like a *leitmotif* through his whole book, in the stories of Cain and his brother, of Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, Perez and Zerah

(Gen 38), Ephraim and Manasseh, Judah and his elder brothers Reuben, Simeon, and Levi (Gen 49). The prophet Nathan, as we know, also preferred the younger Solomon to the elder Adonijah.

To N's mind, Moses had not usurped the leadership by unfair tricks or abused his power by oppressing or exploiting or maltreating anybody. "I have not taken one donkey from them, neither have I hurt one of them" (Nu 16:15). When the people sinned through Aaron's connivance, it was Moses who wanted to take the full responsibility. He did not, like Aaron, blame the people in an attempt to exculpate himself. When Miriam found fault with Moses' Cushite wife and became a leper, it was Moses who prayed for her and tended to her. N portrays Moses as the true leader, responsible and humane, just and righteous. He assures the reader that if some leaders did die in the wilderness in a revolt against Moses' leadership, their revolt was not justified, and they died not at Moses' hand but through an act of God, an earthquake. (See p. 20, a complete text analysis in B.o.B. pp. 233-235 and in Appendix 4.)

The story is given a miraculous character by the interpolation of verses 28-31a, a forecast, warning, and announcement of a miraculous punishment that proved that God had indeed chosen Moses as leader. The rhetorical phrase, "Hereby you shall know" in verse 28, and "you shall understand that these men have despised Yahweh" in verse 30, betray the Deuteronomic style and stem from the Hezekian editors, who elaborated the story of the plagues, the Red Sea, the manna, and the spies with similar rhetorical flourishes (Ex 7:17ab; 9:14b; 10:2; 14:18; Nu 14:11ab,b). The elaborations of Pn, who added the account of the 250 men (large exact figure!) and of Korah's company, also stress the miraculous character of the punishment.

When Israel made the long detour around the territory of Edom, they suffered badly from snakebites. N in his sober way related: "And the people became impatient because of the way (Ex 21:4). And Yahweh sent snakes among the people and they bit the people; and many people of Israel died (v. 6). Then Moses made a bronze serpent and set it upon a pole, and it came to pass that if a serpent had bitten a man, as soon as he looked at the serpent, he recovered" (v. 9). This story relates no miraculous punishment, but the realistic description of the hardships and the bitings and what Moses did

to help his people. He tried to heal the sufferers by hypnosis, a method in use in N's time and perhaps of Egyptian origin.

That N was familiar with the surgical and medical knowledge of the Egyptian physicians of his time may be deduced from the following passages: In Genesis 50:2, he mentions Egyptian doctors in connection with the embalming of Jacob. He also refers to the embalming of Joseph (Gen 50:26). In Genesis 2:21, he describes a surgical operation with narcosis and closing up the incision with flesh. In Exodus 15:26 he mentions Egyptian diseases, and calls Yahweh a physician, whose laws are healthful. In verse 25, Moses makes use of a sweetening wood to make water drinkable. In Numbers 12:12, N describes an abortion, a stillborn child, half of his body living and the other half consisting of dead flesh. N's great interest in Egyptian history and institutions (Gen 47:15-27a; 43:32; 46:34; Ex 8:22; Nu 13:22), and his familiarity with Egyptian life, as revealed in the narratives of Joseph and Moses, make it more than probable that he had an opportunity to observe and study Egyptian life. He may have visited Egypt in connection with young Solomon's marriage to an Egyptian princess, on which occasion N may have served as the negotiator and interpreter. In Genesis 42:23 he mentions an interpreter.

E elaborated on the story of the snakebites (Nu 21:5,7,8). E thought that God sent the snakes because the people of Israel complained about the monotonous manna diet. The bronze serpent was interpreted as a special miraculous cure revealed by God to Moses. This theological interpretation deprives the story of Moses' personal care for his suffering people of its finest humane touch; the interpolators also turn the stories of Moses' personal care for the leprous Miriam and of his blameless leadership into dull miracle tales. E's objective was to indoctrinate the reader with the concept of Moses as an instrument of the all-powerful God of Israel; whereas N aimed to teach his readers that Moses' greatness consisted in his humane character and sensitivity. Moses was not the instrument of a law-transcending nationalistic God, but the worshiper of the universal, law-abiding God of humaneness. This worshipful service was to become a blessing for all the world through Israel.

WHAT ABOUT MOSES?

This book would be incomplete if it did not say anything about the authorship of Moses. In dealing with this question we must distinguish between the stories and the laws. No biblical record states that Moses was the literary narrator of the Pentateuchal stories. If the book of Genesis were a literary unit, Genesis 36:31 would be proof that it had been written in the time of the monarchy, and the mentioning of *Madai* (Media) and *Yavan* (Jonah) in Genesis 10:2 would date it from the seventh century. But single passages may have been interpolated, or, if genuine, are insufficient as a basis for excluding Moses from the authorship of some portions of the five books. Exodus 17:14 (Jp) records that Moses wrote down a curse against Amalek. Numbers 33:2 states that Moses wrote down a description of an itinerary. Since verse 2b repeats verse 1a, verse 2 is presumably an interpolation. The description of the itinerary (Ex 33:1-49) has all the characteristics of Pn: exact dates (v. 3,38), judgments executed on the Egyptian gods by Yahweh, and the formula "and they set out and encamped." As he read the forty-two place names, the Hezekian editor must have puzzled how it was possible for any one to have known every camping site; concluding that Moses had written the itinerary by command of Yahweh, the Hezekian editor added verse 2, which is merely an editor's surmise, not an old tradition. Moses' curse of Amalek, however, may go back to an authentic tradition.

The question of Moses' authorship of laws and codes is a different matter. All the codes—the Ethical and Ritual Decalogues, the Covenant Code, the Ephraimite and the Jerusalemite Deuteronomic Code, and the Priestly Code—all presuppose Moses as their author, or as the mouthpiece of the Deity. In addition, Exodus 15:25 notes that when Israel went into the wilderness for three days, Moses gave the people statutes and laws at the first resting place. Exodus 24:4 records that, after the revelation of the Ethical Decalogue, Moses wrote down all the words of Yahweh. In verse 7, the same author adds that Moses read to the people from the covenant document. Exodus 24:3-8 was interpolated into verses 1,2, which continues in 9-11; both were priestly records. The older record stems from Jp, the interpolated portion from Pn, who commonly describes blood ritual and covenant rites. PC has an entirely dif-

ferent ritual and is out of the question as the author of this section.

According to Jp, Moses wrote the ritual covenant on stone tables after having shattered the divine stone tables on which Yahweh wrote the Ethical Decalogue with his own fingers (Ex 34:27; 31:18aa,b). The Hezekian editor harmonized the two contradictory records by adding in Exodus 24:3, "and all the ordinances," to indicate that Moses inscribed as a document (*sefer*) the Covenant Code and not the Ethical Decalogue.

The Hezekian editor added in Exodus 34:28 the words, "the Ten Commandments," to indicate that God inscribed the same Ethical Decalogue on the second tables as he had on the first tables—and not that they contained the Ritual Covenant of Exodus 34, as Jp assumed. The Hezekian editor was the first to record that Moses placed the tables of stone in the ark, which he called the Ark of the Covenant (Dt 10:5; 1 Ki 8:9; see p. 234). The oldest narrator, N, relates only that Yahweh spoke to Moses and that Moses was to repeat His words to the people (Ex 19:3).

It follows that there was a variety of traditions about the oral and written transmission of the decalogue and the other laws. How can this variety be explained? Pn, who was a scholarly priest, believed that Moses, in priest-like fashion, entered the words of God in a book, as one would enter a document. There must also have been an old tradition that the ark contained two sacred stones placed there by Moses and that they contained mysterious symbols. The priests of the Davidic era interpreted these as containing the Ritual Covenant. These tables, they assumed, were a substitute for the broken tables which contained the divine signs of the Ethical Decalogue. Pn assumed that Moses wrote a covenant document (*sefer habrit*h, Ex 24:4). The Hezekian editor held that God wrote the Ethical Decalogue on the second tables as he had on the first, and that Moses also wrote the Covenant Code and Deuteronomy (Dt 31:9). PC included the Priestly Code in the written Mosaic Torah (Dt 31:26).

There was more substance to the tradition that Moses administered justice (Ex 18; 15:25; Nu 11; Dt 1:9-18) as a legislator and *shofet* (judge and ruler) than to the tradition that he was active as a literary narrator or codifier. There was no need for literary codification of laws before the people of Israel became a state and nation. In the nomadic and tribal stages, law was administered orally

on the basis of precedents adapted to new experiences. When the prophetess Deborah "was judging Israel, she used to sit under the palm of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in the hill country of Ephraim; and the people of Israel came up to her for judgment" (Ju 4:4,5). Neither she nor the people referred to any law book. Samuel is described as having gone "on a circuit year by year to Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah, and he judged Israel in all these places. Then he would come back to Ramah, for his home was there, and there also he administered justice to Israel" (1 Sam 7:16,17). Samuel may have referred to some written texts, for 1 Samuel 10:25 relates that "Samuel told the people the rights and duties of the kingship, and he wrote them in a book and laid it up before Yahweh." Samuel's code dealing with the rights and duties of kings has been lost; but we do have the Covenant Code which could not have been written in substance much earlier or later than Samuel's time and may well have been written by him, thus ushering in the national state. The code is not a literary unit. It consists of four different codes—cultic, penal, civil, and humanitarian, each of which is divided into two. The whole code begins and concludes with cultic regulations (Ex 20:20-23, Kittel 23-26; 22:27-30; 23:10-19). The main part contains the civil code (Ex 21:18-22:16). Ex 21:1-11 (release of slaves) seems to be an appendix, preceding the oldest portion of the whole code, the penal code (Ex 21:12-17; continued in Ex 22:17-19). The most recent portion is the humanitarian code, interpolated in the cultic code (Ex 22:20-26; 23:1-9; see p. 210).

The civil and humanitarian code and the greater part of the cultic code presuppose a settled Israel, an agricultural, not a nomadic people. The penal code and some portions of the cultic code (Ex 20:20-23, Kittel 23-26; 22:27, 28b, 29; 23:18) may stem from a pre-settlement stage, the nomadic period. They are not free of later additions. Interpolated are Exodus 20:21a^c, 22b, 23b (Kittel: 24a^c, 25b, 26b); 21:13, 14. The oldest portions may date from Moses. The retaliation formula in Exodus 21:23b-25 may also be Mosaic or even older.

Comparing these old Mosaic laws with the Ten Commandments, we find some similarities and many dissimilarities. Both legislators condemn murder, disrespect of parents, and worship of foreign gods. But the Mosaic penal code also condemns kidnapping, witchcraft, and sodomy, while the Ten Commandments prohibit per-

jury, false witness, stealing, adultery, and coveting other people's property. That is a big difference. The greatest difference, however, is that the penal code condemns the criminal to death, whereas the author of the Ten Commandments (in their original succinct form) indicates no punishments. He is also less specific and more affirmative. Thus he commands the people to honor their parents and to rest on the seventh day.

It is highly improbable that the author of the old penal code and the author of the Ten Commandments were the same person or lived in the same society or period. It is also highly improbable that Israel during their wanderings through the wilderness did rest on every seventh day. In the wilderness people rest when they find a watering place. A regular seventh day of rest presupposes an agricultural life, not a nomadic one. Commandments or prohibitions without prescribed punishments are highly ineffective for undisciplined slave hordes, such as the Hebrew tribes were when they escaped from Egyptian slavery. A harsh, simple penal code is certainly more effective. The Ten Commandments were not a practical, concrete code.¹ They were not written by a lawyer, but by a prophet, a preacher, a spiritual thinker. More probably they are a prophetic message put in the mouth of the great lawgiver by the narrator of his life and work, the master narrator of the Yahwist nucleus (N).

In his recent book, *Moses* (Amsterdam, G. J. A. Ruys, 1953), Dr. Elias Auerbach, an Israeli Biblical scholar, made an original attempt to prove that the Ten Commandments in their succinct form stem from Moses. He is especially puzzled by the tenth commandment. All the other commandments command or forbid some act or other, but the tenth commandment forbids a desire. What is the meaning of "you shall not covet your neighbor's donkey"? If coveting implies appropriation, the earlier commandment against stealing makes this one unnecessary. If coveting one's neighbor's wife means treating her as one's own wife, adultery is already forbidden by the seventh commandment. Another difficulty is that in the Exodus version of the Commandments, the prohibition on coveting one's neighbor's house precedes coveting one's neighbor's wife; in Deuter-

1. That excludes the supposition that the Decalogue was the text of the Mosaic covenant, as G. H. Mendenhall assumes (*Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, p. 37).

onomy it is vice versa. If this commandment was originally as brief as the others, it must have referred first to the house. Deuteronomy may have altered the order and given the wife the precedence. But how could the house have preceded the wife? And how could Moses in the wilderness have spoken of houses? A house presupposes a settled existence on the land. Auerbach tries to solve all the difficulties with a slight emendation. The original text, he holds, had, "You shall not covet *a house*."

The implication is that Moses considered the nomadic life pattern as the only desirable one. The Bedouin looks upon the settled life of the farmer as a state of moral and social decay, compared with his free nomadic life. The possession of a house leads to greed, the love of luxury, the dissolution of the old morality and the disintegration of the tribal community. In the ninth century, Jonadab ben Rekab (2 Ki 10:15) founded the sect of the Rekabites, who would not drink wine, build houses, sow, or plant (Jer 35:6). We find similar movements among the Nabateans and the tribes of early Islam.

If that is correct, the Ten Commandments can only stem from the Mosaic pre-settlement period, for after the settlement of Canaan nobody would forbid the settled life. The Ten Commandments must then stem from the period of the sojourn in Kadesh, before Israel decided to conquer Canaan. After the settlement of Canaan the commandment became unintelligible, and the text was revised to read "You shall not covet the house of your neighbor," and other amendments followed (pp. 202, 203).

However, this thesis is not tenable for the following reasons: First, if Moses were of the Rekabite pattern, he would also have forbidden the people to sow fields, plant vineyards, or drink wine. Second, if Moses were forbidding the people to build houses, he would have said "You shall not make or build houses," but not "You shall not covet a house," which is only a prohibition of the appropriation of existing houses which belong to other persons. In Kadesh there were obviously no houses at all. How could Moses enjoin the people not to covet them? Third, apart from the Rekabites, no early or late prophet, priest, legislator, or poet, of the religion of Yahweh, even those who admired the nomadic ideal, went so far to condemn permanent dwellings or agriculture. Even the early temple of Shiloh, which was a sanctuary in Joshua's time (Jos 18:1), was called a house of Yahweh (1 Sam 1:24).

There is a more plausible solution of the puzzle of the tenth commandment. The original form read, "You shall not covet your neighbor's house." The word house has two meanings: 1) dwelling 2) family. To avoid misinterpretation, the law was early expanded by the following gloss, probably by Jp, before the Partition: "You shall not covet the wife of your neighbor, his male and female slave, his ox or donkey, and all that belongs to your neighbor." The Ephraimite editor (E) was puzzled at the order of these items not to be coveted. So he changed the order to begin with "the wife" and added "the field," because the northern kingdom was predominantly agricultural. All the five last commandments condemn man's aggressive-predatory impulses, which may be prejudicial to his physical life, sexual life, property, confidence, or family.

The Ten Commandments, in their original terse form, were certainly the work of a Hebrew genius. It is legendary, not historical, thinking which has seduced so many critical scholars to see the genius of the Hebrew people concentrated in, and monopolized by, its first lawgiver, liberator, and unifier. To reconstruct a picture of the historical Moses, we have to go back to the old penal code, and to the nomadic portion of the cultic code, as preserved in the Covenant Code. From these old laws we learn the following:

Moses was a conservative, not a revolutionary. He came not to destroy but to fulfill. He was opposed to rebellious young people. The continuity between the generations must not be broken. The authority of the parents must be protected. "He who beats or curses his father or mother has forfeited his life" (Ex 21:15,17). Moses aimed to protect the freedom of all persons, as long as the exercise of this freedom did not lead to an act of violence or oppression. "He who beats a man so that he dies, must die. He who steals a man and sells him, must die" (v. 12,16). He believed in the *lex talionis*: "Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth" (v. 24). Justice must be retributive and efficacious. The evil-doer must be deterred from repeating his evil deed.

But we must never forget in evaluating Moses that he had to discipline a demoralized mob of slaves, accustomed to obeying only the whip of the taskmaster. If such a gang is set loose, it knows only the law of the jungle. Moses had to break every sign of rebellion and subversiveness, as well as to curb every aggressive and predatory impulse. He organized them into a nation in order to

prevent intertribal and interfamily feuds. He forbade witchcraft and every manner of sexual and moral perversion (Ex 22:17,18) and gave this reorganized people one God and one national name. Moses was too conservative to have invented a new name for the national God or a new name for this people. Yahu may have been the name of the God of storm and justice who was worshiped on the mountains of the wilderness from the Egyptian border to east of Edom and Moab, the land of the Midianites. Some of the Hebrew tribes that were not enslaved by the Egyptians may have worshiped this God and named him Yahweh. Israel may have been the name of some of the Hebrew tribes before Moses. Moses created a united Hebrew nation worshiping only one God. Yahweh became the common name for the God of the fathers, worshiped under the name of El or some variation of it. If Moses had invented the names "Yahweh" and "Israel," he would have called the people *Israyah*, not *Israel* ("Yah rules," not "El rules").

Moses did not alter the old forms of worship. He prescribed that the altars were not to be made of hewn stone and were to have no steps. There were to be no gods of silver or gold. The cereals offered should be unleavened. Moses preferred these archaic primitive cultic practices as the most appropriate for divine worship, untouched as they were by the recent civilization with its cut stones, steps, statues of gold and silver, and leavened cereals. It was simple, unsophisticated, hallowed by countless generations. Moses viewed the various gods with the varieties of the forms of worshiping them as too complicated, unnatural, a kind of degeneration. He believed in one God, worshiped in the most archaic forms, without any personal representation of the storm clouds or the lightning fire, His natural impersonal manifestations.

Moses must have been a forceful, dynamic personality, one of the great unifiers and simplifiers, a genius who organized and disciplined the demoralized masses by the power of his fiery spirit.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1

The Growth of the Pentateuch

	<i>Author</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Section</i>
1	Moses	M	c.1250	Penal Code (Ex 21:12,15-17, 23b-25;22:17-19)
2	Samuel	S	c.1040	Covenant Code substantially (Ex 20:20-23:19)
3	Nathan	N	c.970	Yahwist master narrator: Humanitarian Code (Ex 22:20-26; 23:1-9)
4	Abiathar Zadok	Jp	c.970	Priestly revisors of N document
5	Elisha	N + Jp E } ED }	c.840	J document
6				Northern Elohist, prophetic annotator of J
				Basic Ephraimite Deuteronomy
7	Jehoiada	Pn	c.840	Southern Elohist, priestly annotator of J
8	Hezekian Editors	HE } JD }	c.720	Combined 5 and 7 with J, annotated it, re-edited the enlarged Jerusalemite Deuteronomy
9				
10	Hilkiah	PC	c.620	Jerusalemite Priestly Code
11	Joshua (high priest)	PE	c.520	Post-exilic (Lev 26:34-35,40-45; Num 24:23-24; Dt 4:25-31;30:1-10)

APPENDIX 2

Mid-Exodus Codes: Growth and Composition

A-COVENANT CODE EX 20:19-23:19

Mosaic Code (MC) by *Moses* c.1250: apodictic, draconic, archaic, nomadic

21:12,15-17 (killing, kidnaping, beating or cursing parents)

22:17-19 (sorcery, idolatry, sodomy) 21:23b-25 (retaliation)

20:20,21a,22a,23a (images, altars)

Elders' Code (EC) by *Samuel* c.1000: casuistic, mild, agricultural

21:13,14,18-25 (hurting or killing) 28-36 (damage caused by

beasts) 21:37-22:3 (theft) 4,5 (arson) 6-14 (deposit and

loan) 15,16 (virgin)

Priests' Code (PSC) by *Samuel* c.1000: apodictic without punishments, agricultural, exact regulations

22:28,29 (offerings) 30 (no torn flesh) 23:10,11aa,b,12a (sab-

batical institutions) 15aa,ac,b,16,17 (festivals) 18,19 (sacri-

ficial rulings)

Prophetic Code (PRC) by *Nathan* c.970: appeal to sympathy and reason

22:20,22,24-26 (humaneness) 23:1-9 (justice and love)

Solomonic Edition (SE) by *Solomon* c.950: enlightened, humane

21:2-11;26,27 (humane treatment of slaves) 20:21b,22b,23b

(rationales) 23:11ab,12b (humaneness) 22:27 (authority)

Hezekian Edition (HE) by *Hezekiah's* commission c. 700: stresses divine revelation, Mosaic origin of legislation, radical anti-paganism, threatens with divine wrath. HE put 20:22-26 on top to stress iconoclasm.

20:22;21:1;22:23;23:13,14

B—RITUAL COVENANT EX 34:10-26

Added to the succinct Ethical Decalogue by the *Yahwist priests* (Jp), revising the N document, c.970, taken from PSC, revised as follows:

- 1) redemption of human firstborn and of donkeys mandatory.
- 2) Passover recognized as Yahwist festival.
- 3) Feast of Firstfruits now called Feast of Weeks.

Hezekian Edition (HE), c.700, added:

34:10ab,ac,b (Yahweh will do miracles for Israel); 11-13 (no treaty or worship with Canaanites); 15,16 (no mixed marriages); 17ab (Mazzoth Festival seven days); 24 (no fear of invasion, when going three times to the sanctuary)

APPENDIX 3

The Ten Commandments: Growth and Composition

Mosaic Code by *Moses* c.1250. See Appendix 1 and 2

Nathan's Decalogue by *Nathan* c.970:

Ex 20:2aa ("I am Yahweh"), 3,5aa,7a,9a,10aa ("on the seventh day you shall rest"), 12a,13,14,15,16,17a

Annotations:

by *Yahwist Priests* (Jp) c.970:

17b

by *Northern Elohists* (E) c.840 (prophet-statesman *Elisha*)

2b,5b (except "to those who hate me"), 7b,10b,12b

by *Priestly Narrator* (Pn) c.840 (priest-regent *Jehoiada*)

1,11

by *Hezekian Edition* (HE) c.700

4,5ab, "to those who hate me" (from v. 5), 6,8. Dt 5:14bc,15

APPENDIX 4

Analysis of Composite Texts (Examples)

THE EDEN STORY (Gen 2:8-3:24)

BASIC TEXT

The Master Narrator (N)

ANNOTATOR

The Priestly Revisor (Jp)

And Yahweh planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground Yahweh made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden.

and the tree of life in the midst of the garden and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

and a river flowed out of Eden to water the garden. (22:10b-14 is a late interpolation.) Yahweh took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it. And Yahweh commanded the man, saying, You may eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of love you shall not eat.

but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for on the day that you eat of it, you shall die.

Then Yahweh said, "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him." So out of the ground Yahweh formed every beast of the field and every bird of the air, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was his name. The men gave names to all farm animals, and to the birds of the air, and to every beast in the field; but for the man there was not found a helper fit for him.

Then Yahweh caused a deep sleep to

fall upon the man, and while he slept took one of his ribs and closed up its place with flesh; and the rib which Yahweh had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man. Then the man said, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman (*ishsha*), because she was taken out of Man (*ish*)." Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become one flesh.

The man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed.

Now the serpent was more subtle than any other wild creature that Yahweh had made. He said to the woman, "Did God say, 'You shall not eat of any tree of the garden'?" And the woman said to the serpent, "We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but God said, 'You shall not eat of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, neither shall you touch it, lest you die'." The serpent said to the woman, "You will not die. For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like divine beings, knowing good and evil."

Now the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes,

and she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, and he ate. Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked,

and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise

and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons.

and they heard the voice of Yahweh moving through the garden with the *west wind*,¹ and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of Yahweh among the trees of the garden. But Yahweh called to the man, and said to him, "Where are you?" And he said, "I heard your voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself." He said, "Who told you that you were naked? Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?"

The man said, "The woman whom you gave to be with me, she gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate." Then Yahweh said to the woman, "What is it that you have done?" The woman said, "It lured me, and I ate."

The serpent lured me,

Yahweh said to the serpent, "Because you have done this, cursed are you above all domestic and wild animals; upon your belly you shall go, and dust you shall eat all days of your life. I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel."

Yahweh said to the woman,

"I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband,

And to Adam he said, "Because you have listened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you, 'You shall not eat of it,' unblessed be the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the

To the woman he said

and he shall rule over you."

1. See p. 227.

days of your life; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth to you; and *they* will eat the plants of the field. In the sweat of your face you shall eat bread till you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken. You are dust, and to dust you shall return." (3:20 is interpolated.) And Yahweh made garments of skin and clothed the man and his wife.

Then Yahweh said, "Behold, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever"—

And Yahweh sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken.

He drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the way to the tree of life.

BASIC TEXT

Master Narrator (N)

Then rose up

Dathan and Abiram, the
sons of Eliab, and On, the
son of Peleth, sons of Reuben,
before Moses

and said

they all are holy and Yah-
weh is among them.

And Moses heard it

ANNOTATORS

Northern Elohist (E)

Priestly Narrator (Pn)

Korah

and

and 250 Israelitic men

well-known men. And
they assembled themselves
together against Moses
and Aaron,

Priestly Code (PC)

the son of Izhar, the son
of Kohath, the son of Levi

leaders of the congregation,
chosen from the assembly

to them, "You have gone
too far! For all the con-
gregation—

Why do you exalt your-
selves above the assembly
of Yahweh?

and he said to Korah and
all his company, "In the
morning Yahweh will
show who is his, and is
holy, and will cause him
to come near to him; him
whom he will choose he

and he fell upon his face

N

E

Pn

will cause to come near to him. Do this: take censers, Korah and all his company; put fire in them and put incense upon them before Yahweh to-morrow, and the man whom Yahweh chooses shall be the holy one.

PC

Appendices

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You have gone too far, sons of Levi!" And Moses said to Korah, "Hear now, you sons of Levi: is it too small a thing for you that the God of Israel has separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to himself, to do service in the tabernacle of Yahweh and to stand before the congregation to minister to them; and that he has brought you near him, and all your brethren the sons of Levi with you? And would you seek the priesthood

N

And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab; and they said, "We will not come up. Is it a small thing that you have brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, that you must also make yourself a prince over us? More-over you have not brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey, nor given us inheritance of fields and vineyards. Will you put out the eyes of these men? We will not come up." And Moses was very angry, and said to Yahweh,

E

P_n

PC

also? Therefore it is against Yahweh that you and all your company have gathered together; what is Aaron that you murmur against him?"

N

"I have not taken one donkey from them, and I have not harmed one of them."

E

"Do not respect their offering.

Pn

And Moses said to Korah, "Be present, you and all your company, before Yahweh, you and they, tomorrow; and let every one of you take his censer, and put incense upon it, and every one of you bring before Yahweh his censer, two hundred and fifty censers;

and Aaron

you also, and Aaron, each his censer."

So every man took his censer, and they put fire in them and laid incense upon them.

And they stood at the entrance of the tent of meeting with Moses and Aaron. Then Korah as-

N

E

P_n

PC

sembled all the congregation against them at the entrance of the tent of meeting. And the glory of Yahweh appeared to all the congregation. And Yahweh said to Moses and to Aaron, "Separate yourselves from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a moment." And they fell upon their faces, and said, "O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and will you be angry with all the congregation?" And Yahweh said to Moses, "Say to the congregation, Get away from about the dwelling of Korah, Dathan and Abiram."

And Moses rose and went to Dathan and Abiram; and the elders of Israel followed him.

The Anti-Leader Revolt (Nu 16)—continued

N

E

P_n

PC

And Dathan and Abiram
came out and stood at
the door of their tents

together with their wives,
their sons and their little
ones. And Moses said,
"Hereby you shall know
that Yahweh has sent me
to do all these works, and
that it has not been of my
own accord. If these men
die the common death of
all men, or if they are
visited by the fate of all
men, then Yahweh has
not sent me. But if Yah-
weh creates something

And he said to the con-
gregation, "Depart, I pray
you, from the tents of
these wicked men, and
touch nothing of theirs,
lest you be swept away
with all their sins." So
they got away from about
the dwelling of Korah,
Dathan and Abiram.

The Anti-Leader Revolt (Nu 16)—continued

N

E

new, and the ground opens its mouth, and swallows them up with all that belongs to them, and they go down alive into Sheol, then you shall know that these men have despised Yahweh." And as he finished speaking all these words, the ground under them split asunder.

And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up, and their houses,

So they and all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol:

And all Israel that were round about them fled at their cry; for they said, "Lest the earth swallow us up!"

P_n

PC

and all the men that belonged to Korah and all their goods.

And the earth closed over them, and they perished from the midst of the assembly.

The Anti-Leader Revolt (Nu 16)—continued

N

E

P_n

PC

And the fire came forth
from Yahweh, and de-
voured the two hundred
and fifty men that offered
the incense.

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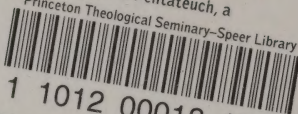
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